

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1914

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THE LEADER OF THE KAISER'S MARCH INTO BELGIUM

(This photograph of General von Emmich, whose army took Liège, was made after the Belgian stronghold capitulated. The General was personally congratulated by Kaiser Wilhelm for his valorous achievement. The picture is interesting also because taken as a whole,—the rider, his uniform, his mount, and his pose,—it gives a fine impression of the typical German officer)

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

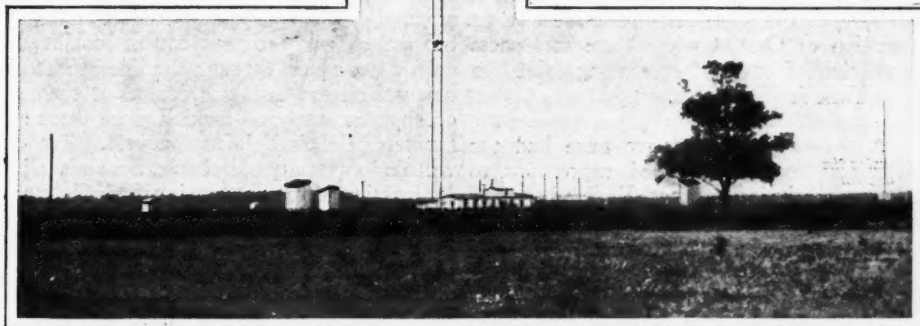
*Realities of
a Stubborn
Struggle*

As the great war enters upon its fourth month, the public is less dazed and the main facts of the situation are better understood. Those whose anxious hopes had led them to predict a very short war, are much less confident. The month has given the world a renewed impression of the terrible effectiveness of Germany's war machine. It is not likely that Kitchener, who is now undisputed master of the British military structure, has at any moment underrated the strength of Germany, or has thought it possible that the Allies could be victorious in a single campaign of a few weeks' duration. But when the German line retreated from its nearest approach to Paris, and when the French recovered the Marne and forced the Germans back to the Aisne, many English newspaper writers thought they saw the end at hand; and some English orators proceeded to dismember Germany and to fix the amounts of the indemnities to be exacted. The news from the eastern theater

of war had nearly all come by way of Petrograd (St. Petersburg), and we had been asked to believe that Russia had crushed the Austrian armies beyond the possibility of their becoming effective again in this war. It was declared that the Russians were sweeping onward through East Prussia, and that they had not only taken nearly the whole of Galicia, but were pouring down through the Carpathian passes upon the Hungarian plain, thus threatening Budapest, and were marching steadily by way of Cracow to Vienna, whence, in October, they would move on Breslau and coöperate with the converging armies that would in November reach Berlin.

*A Seeming
Deadlock*

It has become plain, however, that the initial movements of the war have not given any indication as to final results. The wiser judges fear that the war is only in the indecisive early stages. Speaking in the most general way, the situation in the western theater of war, through October, was virtually a deadlock. The great German army operating



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THE GERMAN WIRELESS TELEGRAPH STATION AT SAYVILLE, LONG ISLAND

(Direct cable communication having been cut off since the beginning of the war, Germany has made good use of her high-powered wireless system in order to present her story from day to day to the people of the United States. This station, operated by the Telefunken system, receives and transmits messages without relay between Nauen, near Berlin, and Sayville, on the southern shore of Long Island, near New York City)

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KING ALBERT AND QUEEN ELIZABETH OF BELGIUM

(The King had remained with the Belgian army, which had safely withdrawn from Antwerp, and had been fighting vigorously with the Allies in the attempt to check the German movement along the coast to Dunkirk and towards Boulogne and Calais. The Queen had refused to go to England and had continued to minister to the wounded soldiers.)

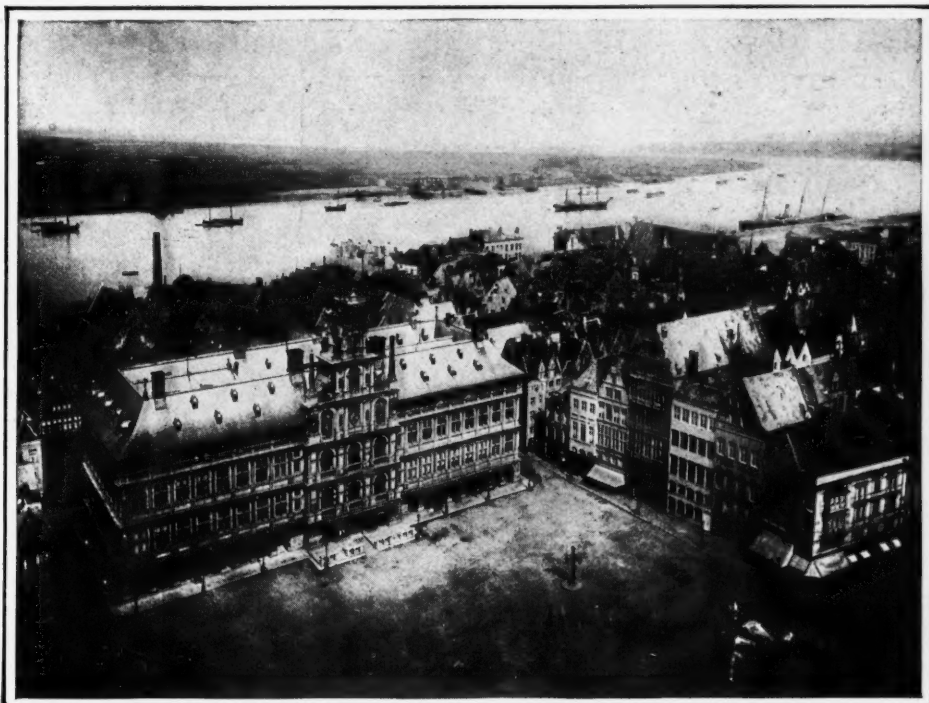
in France has resisted the efforts of the French and British to force it back from its main line of intrenchment. Thus far our sources of information have been chiefly English and French. The meager news that has reached us from Berlin has generally proved, in the end, to be more accurate than the vastly larger volume of cabled material coming from London. Antwerp proved an easy conquest for the Germans when they reached the point of deciding to occupy it,—although the world had been assured by the Belgians and by the Allies that Antwerp would not be yielded without a very long siege and enormous losses on the part of the Germans. We were then assured that Ostend would not be permitted by England to fall into German hands,—yet the Germans were actually in possession of Ostend while these assurances (unofficial, of course) were being cabled to New York from London.

Furthermore, we have had the most unqualified expressions to the effect that England cannot and will not permit the Germans to occupy Calais, which is visible on clear days from Dover, only twenty miles across the Channel. It may, indeed, prove true that the German forces will not be able to make this sweep along the French coast, the natural odds being greatly against them. But with the fall of Antwerp and Ostend England became more apprehensive than before; and it is possible that the taking of Calais and the ex-

Read
Mr. Simonds'
War Story!

Mr. Simonds, whose admirable analyses and explanations of the first movements of the war, as written for this REVIEW last month, were so widely appreciated throughout the country, continues his story in the present issue (see page 561). His brilliant pages will help many a puzzled newspaper reader to understand both the movements themselves and the strategic reasons that actuated the opposing leaders in their operations up to October 20. Mr. Simonds pays a great tribute to the Germans for the masterly strength of their defensive operations along the line of the Champagne Hills, the topographical character of which he clearly describes. He shows us also why the failure of the Germans to accomplish their purpose in August and early September, and their subsequent inability to open a clear path through the line of French defenses on the east, had compelled them to occupy Antwerp and make a more thorough business of their Belgian conquest. Readers will find especially useful Mr. Simonds' clear explanation of the manner in which Germany rallied to the relief of Austria, forced the Russians back in Poland, and enabled the badly defeated Austro-Hungarian armies to reorganize and to coöperate against the common enemy under the more masterful strategical guidance of the German General Staff. His tribute to the military prowess of the German commanders and forces shows that the amazing confidence with which the nation had entered upon war was no delusion.

pected operation of German aircraft over London are needed to complete the arousing of the unmilitary population of the British Islands. Immediately upon the outbreak of the war, the volunteering in Germany was so general that more than a million men who offered themselves were sent home because not then required. England is now training several hundred thousand volunteers, and two million more will undoubtedly offer themselves when the dangerous realities of war become more imminent, and the idea of invasion seems no longer chimerical. John Bull has begun to grow warlike.



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A VIEW OF ANTWERP, THE GREAT BELGIAN PORT ON THE RIVER SCHELDT THAT GERMANY NOW HOLDS WITH THE PURPOSE OF PERMANENT OCCUPANCY

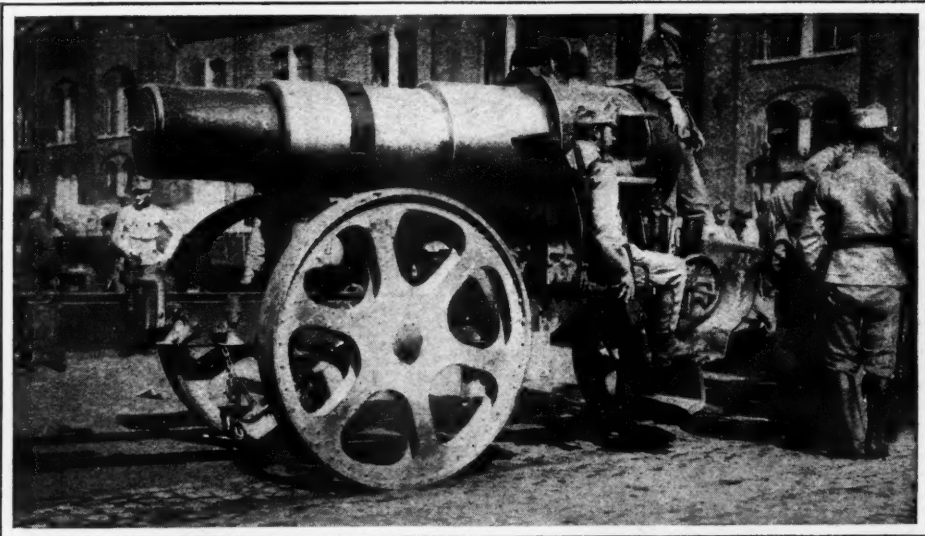
(The river, before reaching the sea, passes through a corner of Holland, and questions of neutrality have already arisen in view of the German need of access for naval craft to and from the Antwerp harbor)

Great Guns for Further Use

Finally, we are shown by Mr. Simonds how this temporary checking of Russia's advance in the eastern theater of war had enabled Germany to disengage a large number of troops and to throw them rapidly, by way of Belgium, into northern France. This was in support of the new plan to sweep down through Dunkirk to Calais and perhaps to Boulogne, with the possible purpose of attempting a new movement against Paris, and the idea of probable advantages to be used in one way or another against England in the further developments of the war. These later German movements have, in the minds of American readers, come to be much associated with information current regarding the formidable mechanisms that the Germans have brought into action. Liège and Namur had been thought impregnable; and yet they were quickly crushed when the great German siege guns came forward, so that they proved less effective for purposes of defense than the new sort of improvised works now in use wherever the long lines are stretched across country.

Paris Defenses and German Guns

It was these immense siege guns that spoiled all earlier calculations regarding the defense of Antwerp. It had not previously been regarded as practicable to transport for field use artillery of such enormous size and weight as these 42 centimeter guns, which throw great projectiles about sixteen inches in diameter. It is reported that the Krupp works at Essen, in which nearly fifty thousand mechanics are working day and night upon armaments and munitions, are fabricating guns of even larger size than those that were so effective in reducing the forts of Antwerp. Although the newspapers have explained, there may be some readers who have overlooked the fact that these immense guns, which weigh perhaps thirty tons apiece, are made and transported in several sections, which are of course adjusted and bolted together when the gun is mounted upon a solid concrete foundation and brought into action. It is reported that the German mechanics have been providing a supply of heavy artillery, with a view to reducing the defenses of Paris as easily as they shattered those of



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ONE OF THE GREAT SIEGE GUNS USED BY THE GERMANS

(This is the kind of gun which has battered down the great fortifications of Liége, Namur, and Maubeuge, and was also used last month in the bombardment of Antwerp)

Antwerp. It would not be necessary to invest Paris on all sides, and it might be forced to capitulate, as in the case of Antwerp, if fortifications were broken down at one point or another.

*The Asset
of Being
Ready*

Obviously, these great guns constitute a part of that superiority of preparation for war that was Germany's chief asset at the beginning and that must be realized upon speedily, lest it should begin to vanish. For, as the English military critics are duly observing, the people of Great Britain, like those of the United States, do not get ready for war until war has begun. They can make as large guns in England as the Germans can make at Essen. But it takes time to give effect to radical innovations in armament. The Germans understand this, and are straining every nerve to achieve results before the Allies can gain time enough to overcome Germany's initial advantages of preparation. We have been continually told that some great surprises are preparing in the Kiel Canal, and it has been hinted that these have to do with the mounting of enormous guns upon dreadnoughts, or some other class of war ships, so that in naval action a German vessel may throw a heavier projectile to a greater distance than is now possible for British vessels. However that may be, the Germans believe that if they can gain control of the French as well as the

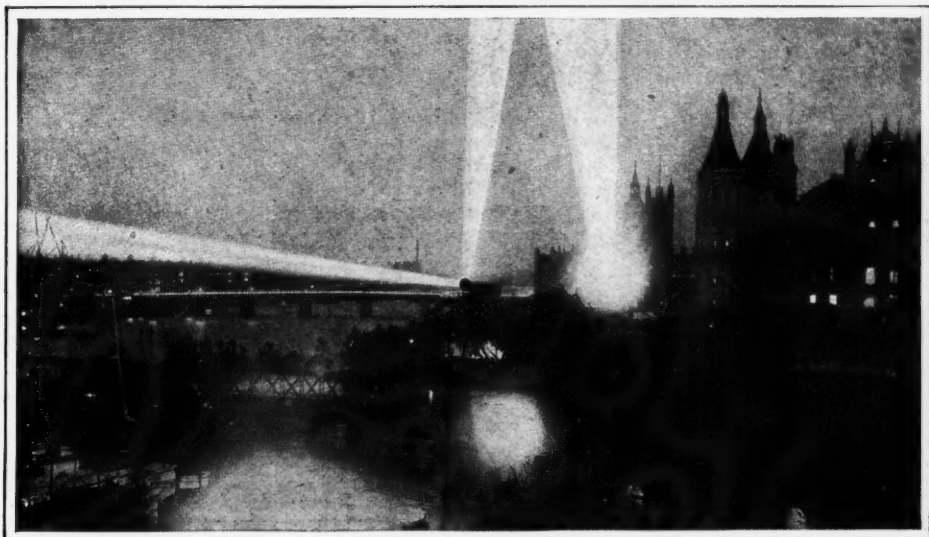
Belgian North-Sea coast, they will be able to menace England in several ways.

*Are Forts
and Battleships
Obsolete?*

Even at this early stage of the war, it is proved that great fixed fortifications are of much less value than had been supposed; while strategists also perceive that it is a mistake to permit masses of effective soldiers to be cooped up and beleaguered for long weeks or months within fortified places. Perceiving this, King Albert led his gallant army safely



AN ENGLISH TYPE OF LARGE GUN—A SIEGE HOWITZER



THE NEW "LIGHTS OF LONDON"

(Searchlights that nightly sweep the sky over the English metropolis in their vigilant watch for Zeppelins and other hostile aircraft while all other lights are extinguished)

away from Antwerp before the Germans took possession. And it is well understood that if the Germans should at some later date force their way into Paris this will not involve the surrender of a large French army of defense. Inasmuch as the removal of border fortifications must be one of the necessary conditions of that enduring peace and neighborly friendship that should come about with the termination of this war, it is perhaps a very hopeful thing that strategists already agree that the hitherto "impregnable" fortresses are to be regarded henceforth as an obsolete thing in the great war game. Another fortunate outcome will be the quite possible discovery, within the next few weeks or months, that the battleships, dreadnoughts, and super-dreadnoughts, which have been growing ever larger and more costly, are also a delusion and not to be regarded as belonging to the scheme of things essential in the future for protecting civilized nations or insuring the freedom of maritime trade and travel.

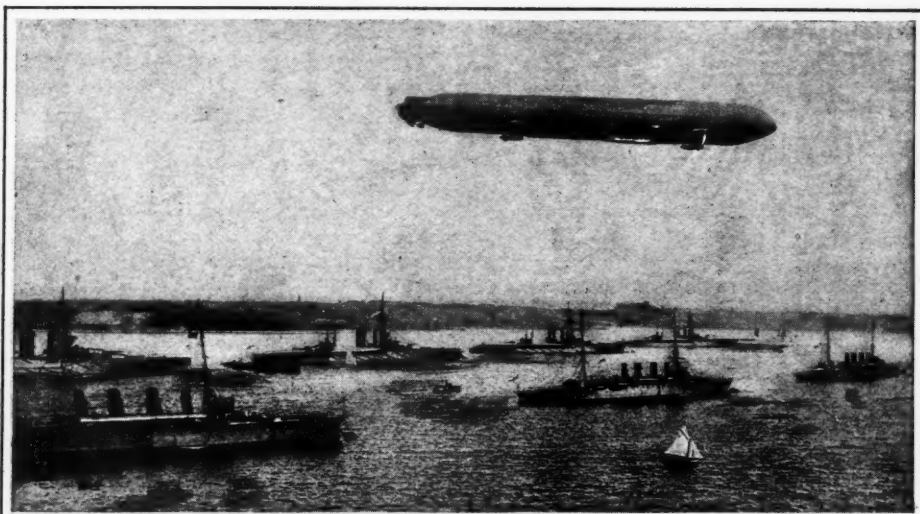
*Aircraft
Against
Seacraft*

Thus far the light, swift cruisers of the British navy have been able to clear the seas of hundreds of German merchantmen, while in turn the floating mines scattered by the Germans in the North Sea, and the deadly torpedoes projected from small submarine vessels, have sent a number of armored British warships to the bottom of the sea. The German

dreadnoughts meanwhile have been kept safely within naval harbors or at the entrances of the Kiel Canal, while the British dreadnoughts in like manner are lying in their safe havens. Germany is, above all things, intent upon getting at some of these English dreadnoughts with mines, torpedoes, or bombs dropped from Zeppelins. England is hardly less intent upon finding some way to get at Germany's newest and heaviest men-of-war. The assumption that Germany has been deliberately planning to terrorize England by dropping bombs from the great Zeppelin airships upon the homes of defenseless women and children in London, is not in accordance with the demonstrated facts as to Germany's plans and methods. Just as the Allies have tried to destroy Zeppelins in their shed at Dusseldorf, by dropping bombs from aeroplanes, even so the Germans, doubtless, will try to drop the heavier and more deadly bombs from their huge Zeppelins upon warships in British harbors, upon the heavy coast-defense batteries on the Dover heights, upon great camps like that of Salisbury Plain, and upon other objects and places of a military nature.

*Science
Must Fight
War*

The horror and the sadness of the war have borne heavily upon the spirits of all men and women who are capable of right feeling, and who have mentality enough to perceive the depths of disgrace and shame in which our civiliza-



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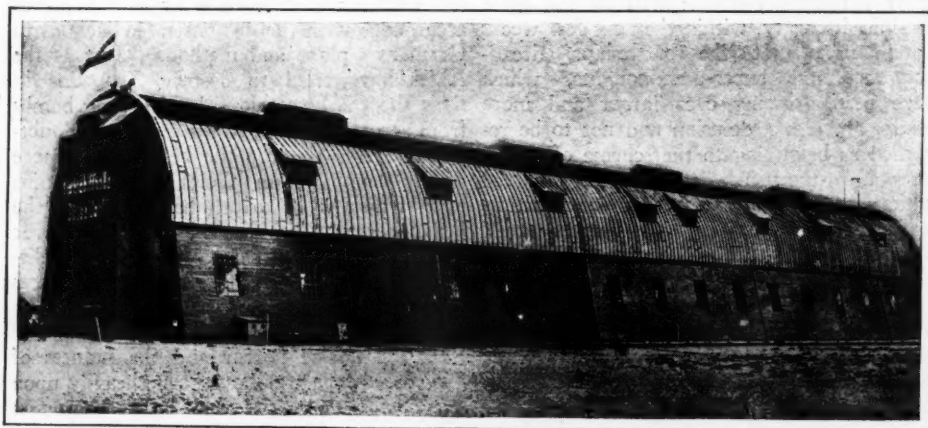
A ZEPPELIN AIRSHIP FLYING OVER THE VISITING BRITISH FLEET AT THE TIME OF THE OPENING OF THE KIEL CANAL—A PREMONITORY SUGGESTION!

tion has for the time being submerged itself. But we know that, in spite of all current cynicism, civilization is more than skin deep, men are not as barbarous as they were in the Middle Ages, and the general interests of humanity are far more generally considered by those who hold power to-day than at any former period in the world's history. There are many strands of common interest that unite the people of different nations, and that will survive the tragic blunder of this war. The men of science who have fought all kinds of infectious disease, and have improved the world's health conditions, must henceforth become interested in national and inter-

national politics, in order that their great work for all races of men may not be interrupted by mismanagement of governments under the influence of the military spirit. The municipal reformers whose work had come to be international, and who were just now holding an exposition in Lyons, France, must help to see that their friendly coöperation in constructive work is not spoiled by a false assertion of national rivalries.

Work For
Moral
Leaders

The devotees of philosophy and pure science, of high literature and noble art, who have shown generous appreciation of the good work of



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A ZEPPELIN AIRSHIP SHED AT DÜSSELDORF WHICH WAS WRECKED BY A BOMB FROM A BRITISH AEROPLANE LAST MONTH

their fellows in all lands, must henceforth use all their great influence against the machinations of secret diplomacy, and against the insolent pretensions of the empire-builders who claim that one race may dispossess another by force, and that its exercise of such force is a proof of its high mission and destiny. The religious leaders and the churches of the world, having undertaken to bring the peoples of Europe and America into harmony and concord,—with national disputes adjusted by conciliatory and peaceful methods,—must renew their efforts with increased rather than diminished faith in the efficacy of moral principles, and in the application to practical affairs of spiritual motives and ideals. It is well, therefore, and understandable, that many American writers and speakers should even now be talking about the kind of world federation that must be shaped in the future. Mr. Roosevelt has expressed himself cogently and wisely along these lines, and men like President Butler, of Columbia University, have pointed out not only the goal to be attained, but many of the feasible steps that may be taken in the near future, to achieve the security from war that thoughtful men have long seen to be the greatest need of organized human society. Let it not be said, therefore, that the thinkers and workers who have been standing before the world for the cause of peace are now to abandon their views or postpone their propaganda. The minds of men must be prepared



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CANADIAN TROOPS EMBARKING FOR ENGLAND

for radical changes in the political structure of the world.

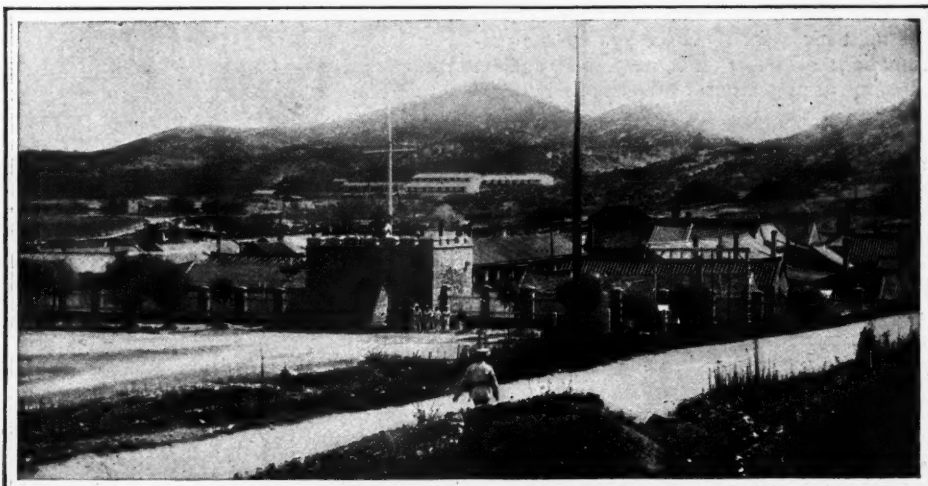
*War
Menace
About Us*

Unless such changes come about, no nation is safe. We must not for a moment think that in the United States there is either security or prosperity ahead, if the world is at war and the military spirit flaunts itself. Our nearest neighbor, Canada, is now at war and absorbed in her preparations. She has sent more than 30,000 men to Europe, is drilling another 30,000 or 40,000, and intends to dispatch troops from time to time in successive bodies of 10,000. Mexico, our neighbor on the South, is wrecked and chaotic in consequence of devastating warfare that may not even yet have reached its conclusion,—and that has threatened to involve us in unwelcome activities. Japan, our interesting and powerful neighbor across the Pacific, is fighting Germany on Chinese soil, and is finding the resistance at Kiau-chau much more stubborn than anyone had anticipated. No one can tell how much farther Japan may become involved in world warfare before general peace is secured. But for the extent and power of the British navy, nothing could prevent the breaking out of warlike activity in the West Indies, where the British and French have possessions; nor could Canada ask or expect immunity from attack except as secured by her own prowess. If Germany and Austria should be the final victors in this great struggle, they would demand a vast



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A BUILDING IN ANTWERP PARTIALLY DESTROYED BY BOMBS FROM A ZEPPELIN AIRSHIP



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AN OUTPOST AT KIAU-CHAU, GERMANY'S STRONGHOLD ON THE COAST OF NORTHERN CHINA

(On the line of hills in the background are strong fortifications which the Japanese are now attacking. The white buildings in the center are the barracks of the German garrison. This fortified section is the seat of government, and bears the name of Tsing-tau,—Kiau-chau being the name of the German territory as a whole. Tsing-tau is enclosed all about with a fence or wall, having imposing arched gates at every entrance)

rearrangement of imperial and colonial possessions. In short, there is no country or region in the entire world that is not immediately or prospectively concerned,—and that to a profound extent,—in the issues of the present war. It behooves the leaders of American opinion, therefore, to be thinking deeply, to be considering the things that make for permanent peace, and to be prepared at the proper time not only to suggest but to demand radical reforms. The whole structure of relationships among nations and organized territories throughout the world must be changed.

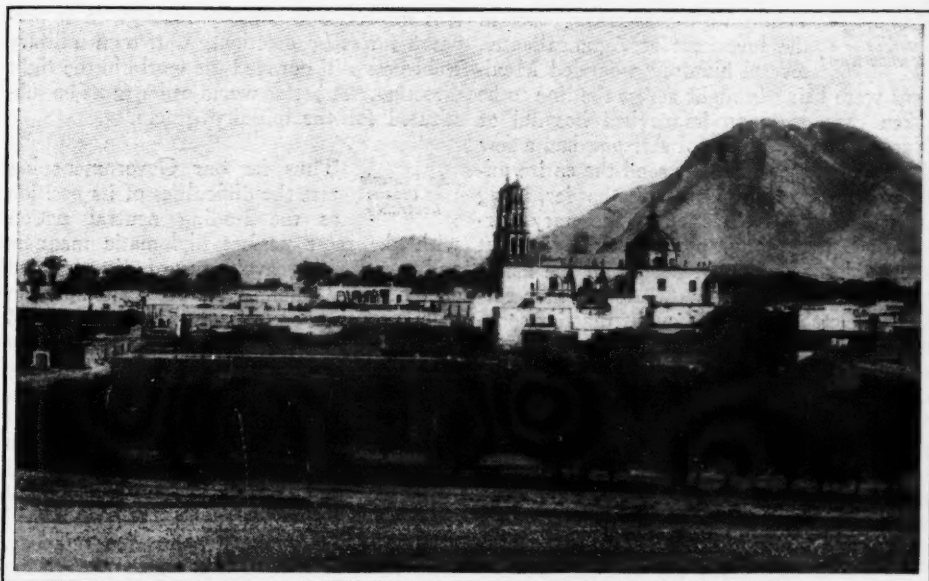
*Mexico,
For
Example*

Thus Mexico will have to show capacity for self-government, and for the protection of the lives and property of all inhabitants, native and foreign, or else she will have to be assisted in social and political reconstruction by a commission supported by the friendly powers of the Western Hemisphere, assisted perchance by those of Europe. Justice to Mexico and the welfare of the Mexican people should be the first object in view, a second and very proper object being the safeguarding of the personal and property rights of all men, whether Mexicans or aliens. When we went to Cuba we gave guaranties not to annex the island or to exploit it for our own enrichment or aggrandizement. We have been able, under the Platt Amendment of the Cuban Constitution, to afford the oversight necessary to Cuba's peace and solvency.

We can easily enough do the same thing for Santo Domingo and Haiti, and it would not be difficult in practise to extend our guaranties from the little republic of Panama to the other small nations of Central America. But when it comes to Mexico the problem is a different one, because of two things: First, the existing sentiment in that republic, and, second, the physical conditions. If Mexican peace and progress are, therefore, to be for a time promoted by advice and help from without, it would seem that other countries ought to be associated with the United States in dealing with the situation. At the least, it would not be well to proceed in any important way without conferring again with the governments of the so-called "A. B. C." powers (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile), in view of their mediatory efforts of last spring.

*Is Mexico's
Truce to
Be Lasting?*

Meanwhile, the immediate situation in Mexico, which had become rather puzzling and anxious, looks favorable again. With General Carranza acting as Provisional President in Mexico City, and the supporters of the late Huerta régime pacified and acquiescent, it was believed a few weeks ago that an era of peace had dawned. Special representatives of President Wilson, particularly Mr. Paul Fuller, of New York, and Mr. Silliman, formerly consul at Saltillo, had conferred fully with General Carranza and other Mexican leaders, and had given hopeful reports to the administration at Washington. In



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

A VIEW OF THE CITY OF CHIHUAHUA, IN NORTHERN MEXICO

(Chihuahua is perhaps the Mexican city best known to Americans. It is the center of great mining and manufacturing industries, and has figured prominently in recent insurrections against the federal governments at Mexico City. It ought soon to become peaceful and busy once more)

accordance with these reports and the general tenor of advices, President Wilson announced that the time had come for our withdrawal from Vera Cruz, and orders were accordingly given to Admiral Fletcher, commanding the fleet, and General Funston, commanding our forces on land and controlling Vera Cruz. Evacuation was expected on or before October 1, but on Funston's advice was deferred somewhat, the understanding being that our troops would leave not later than October 10. Meanwhile, however, General Villa, who was in control of the northern state of Chihuahua and held a body of troops there, quarreled furiously with Carranza, demanded his immediate retirement, and proposed another war.

*Clearing
Again After
a Storm*

A convention of the Constitutionalist generals and leaders had been called for October 4, and Villa, who had been expected, refused to attend. Carranza relieved the strain by offering his resignation to this convention, and again on October 14 he offered it at the national convention, held at Aguascalientes. But fighting had broken out in Sonora, between the factions, and Villa was supposed to be pressing the campaign just over the line from Naco (Arizona). Imagine, therefore, the surprise and delight of the troubled con-

vention at Aguascalientes when, on October 19, Villa put in his appearance, made an eloquent and patriotic speech, and agreed to give his earnest support to any Provisional President selected by the convention. The heavy clouds had broken, and the Mexican sky was brighter than it had been for several years. The enthusiasm of the convention was unbounded. Villa and everybody else wrote their names on the Mexican flag. General Villareal, chairman of the convention, declared that while the country owed a lasting debt of gratitude to Villa for his military achievements, these were as nothing in comparison with his splendid patriotism. Whereupon Villa departed for Guadalupe in a spirit of delicacy, in order that he might not seem to be trying to run the convention. It was hoped that even Zapata might look in on the national gathering, and that the way might be cleared for an acceptable temporary government, to be followed by a regular election. But the path of Mexican reconstruction must needs be a long and perilous one. Indeed, the report of Villa's lofty patriotism at the convention was promptly followed by another report to the effect that he was using an army to coerce that body. Meanwhile the situation had led to a postponement of the expected withdrawal of our troops from Vera Cruz.

*Vigilance
Needed in a
Warlike World*

While Villa was taking part in the love-feast at Aguascalientes, several hundred wounded Mexicans were being brought across the line to be taken care of in an improvised hospital at Naco. The Governor of Arizona had a few days before been urged to send the entire militia of the State to protect the border, being dissuaded from such action by Secretary Garrison's tactful though peremptory advice that the border patrol must be left in the hands of the federal government. At one time earlier in October it was thought that irresponsible bands of soldiery were about to attack the outposts of General Funston near Vera Cruz. These fragments of news show how the difficulties of the Mexican situation have continued to require the vigilant attention of the authorities at Washington. We are pacific, and intend to use our influence for disarmament and world harmony. Yet for the present, with all the world either actually fighting, or mobilizing for defense, we cannot afford to be unprepared for contingencies. The annual report of Secretary Garrison, therefore, will be awaited with unusual interest. Our military authorities are in duty bound to study every phase of the great war with earnest effort to miss no lesson that might be of service to the United States. Militarism in other countries, and the suffering and disadvantage of those unprepared for war, make it necessary for us, even as

it is for Holland and Switzerland, to be prepared for self-protection. Our own military feebleness will not lead the world in the right direction. A better world-order must be substituted for the military system.

*An Example
of Urbane
Neutrality*

Thus far our Government has met the difficulties of its position as the leading neutral nation with the most perfect diplomatic manners and a surprising avoidance of disputes and contentions. There was a strong temptation to take over the great unused passenger and freight ships of Germany as the nucleus of an American merchant marine. In the nature of things this would not have been wrong, for our trade and commerce have rights that deserve consideration. But it is the accepted rule of international law that a neutral ought not to fly its flag over the merchant ships of a belligerent, when the motive of their transfer is the avoidance of capture. The rules of war at sea which permit the seizure of merchant ships are a survival from the period when belligerents also looted houses and stole private property on land. It is a well-nigh intolerable thing that the business affairs of peaceful neutral countries should be so profoundly disturbed by the war game of nations that are in needless conflict. But such inconvenience and loss must be borne for the present. It all furnishes added arguments against the war system.



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REFUGEES OF TERMONDE, BELGIUM, WATCHING THE BURNING OF THEIR HOMES

*Belgium
and Public
Opinion*

If American public opinion has shown marked sympathy with the cause of the Allies as against Germany, it is not through any lack of good will for the German people or friendly desire for the permanent welfare and prosperity of the German nation. It is because Germany seems to have overplayed her militarism, and unduly worshipped her ideal of a dominant German nationality, so that she has seemed to lose a just sense of the sacredness of other people's rights in the world. For example, there is not the slightest indication that there is a single soldier, statesman, diplomatist, journalist, or scholar in all Germany who believes for a moment that there is any sincerity in the English pretense that the rights of Belgium are what led Britain into war. All Germans seem to believe that England has seized an opportunity to support France and Russia in crippling Germany, with the object of promoting British imperial and commercial interests. In America, feeling for the cause of Belgium is so sincere and deep that there are many who believe that under the Hague treaties we should have joined in formal protest against the violation of Belgian neutrality. The motives that impel nations to war are not always easy to analyze. But the Germans are mistaken in failing to attach value to the expressions of many Englishmen who, like Lord Bryce, have felt it obligatory upon England to stand by the guaranty of Belgian rights. We have made note in this number (see page 612) of a contribution made by Lord Bryce to the press of the world, defending small nations, and setting forth their usefulness. When sound and just institutions of world federation are established, it will be desirable to multiply, rather than to diminish, the number of nations governing themselves while enjoying friendly relations with those about them.

*German
Colonial
Aims*

Meanwhile, however, it is the intention of Germany, if her arms are further successful in this war, to hold Belgium and administer it until such time as she may be ready to liberate it under arrangements permanently favorable to Germany's position on the North Sea and in the English Channel. German forethought looks rather, however, to Belgium's vast and rich possessions in the heart of Africa than to the immediate Germanizing of Belgium proper. With a greater maritime and commercial energy than any other country except England, Germany began to create her colonial empire



VON HINDENBURG, THE HERO OF EAST PRUSSIA

(General von Hindenburg has become a popular idol in Germany for his masterly campaign against the Russians in East Prussia)

after the most available parts of the earth had already been seized by other nations. Her best chance lay in China, where she was creating a large commerce through sheer business superiority over British and American traders. And she had spent a great sum of money upon Kiau-chau as the base of her operations in the far East. She now finds the Japanese taking advantage of her preoccupation in Europe to destroy her Asiatic nucleus and capture her trade in the Orient. But she seems also to have had definite aims as regards Africa; and even yet, great as are the odds against her, she hopes to accomplish her purposes. The map (on the following page) of that part of the African continent lying south of the Equator shows how the Belgian Congo lies between the German Cameroons on the Atlantic and German East Africa on the Indian Ocean. The French and Belgian Congo, if taken over by Germany, might form a colony whose development would be worthy of Teutonic energy. A part of the German program has consisted in stimulating the Boers of South Africa to pull down the British flag and set up an enlarged and con-

solidated Boer Republic of the South African Union. It will be remembered that Portugal is in alliance with England, and is prepared to furnish troops when called upon. Portuguese East Africa lies south of German East Africa, and Portuguese Angola is a large territory on the Atlantic, north of German Southwest Africa. If the Boers could be induced to shake off the British allegiance forced upon them by war a few years ago, Portugal would lose her possessions in the rearrangement of the African map. The River Zambesi would, perchance, form the northern boundary of the South African Republic. Above the Zambesi there would lie across Africa a great German possession, stretching from the Gulf of Guinea to the headwaters of the Nile and Abyssinia.

*Will the
Boers Stand
By England?*

But this large program could not succeed without the coöperation of the Boers. And the attitude of their leaders has been anything but favorable to German expectations. We commented last month upon the adherence of the South African Prime Minister, General Botha, and his cabinet, to the cause of the British Empire; and it seemed then that sentiment was almost unanimous. There were, however, a good many prominent Boers who did not wish to join in fighting against the

Germans in their colony of Southwest Africa, although not advocating South African independence. A temporary diversion was created last month, when Lieutenant-Colonel Maritz, in command of a detachment of troops, not only refused to lead his men against the Germans, but undertook to transfer them all to the German side. Martial law was declared in South Africa as a precaution; but very few men followed Maritz, and none of the more important Boers who themselves opposed aggressive measures against their German neighbors lent any countenance either to Maritz or to projects involving disloyalty or revolt. The more immediate method of bringing Portugal into the great war is the dispatch of considerable bodies of Portuguese troops to South Africa, where they will be prepared to assist England in maintaining the general situation. Thus if many Boers should join the well-seasoned German regiments that are now in Southwest Africa, the Portuguese would aid General Botha and the men of the South African Union. Later on, Portugal may be called upon to aid the English in France.

*Italian
Neutrality
Maintained*

Italy has continued to maintain her neutrality under conditions of considerable difficulty. The careful article contributed to this number of the REVIEW by Mr. Stoddard will serve the purposes of the general reader far better than any mere current news or rumor regarding Italy's possible action in the near future. The death of the Italian Foreign Minister, Marquis di San Giuliano, follows a serious illness of many weeks which had prevented his active part in affairs of state. It has not been credible, therefore, that his supposed regard for Italy's membership in the Triple Alliance had been a chief obstacle in the way of Italy's plunging into the war on the side of the English and French. The popular clamor for war has been hard to subdue; but the avowed motives of those who favor such action are purely selfish and aggressive. Those of our readers who think that Italy ought to fight, will





Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

A REGIMENT OF NATIVE TROOPS OF ENGLAND'S WEST AFRICAN POSSESSIONS EMBARKING ON AN EXPEDITION TO THE GERMAN CAMEROONS

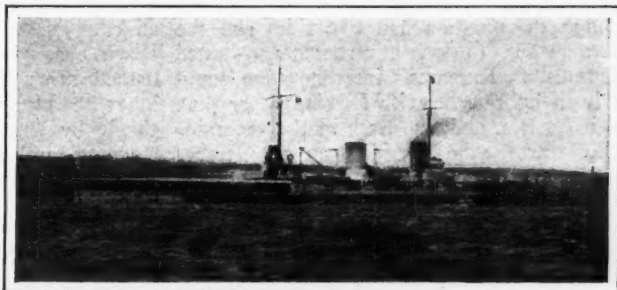
do well to read Mr. Stoddard's article very carefully. His fine review of the historical conditions that led Italy into the Triple Alliance is even surpassed by his skilful weighing of the conflicting arguments that relate to her present attitude. Mr. Stoddard concludes that Italy ought to remain neutral, and the thoughtful reader is likely to find his statements convincing. There might, of course, come about certain changes in the larger situation that would change the facts in the case. But Italy's continued neutrality is presumptively right and wise.

Turkey
Nearing
War

If Turkey should fight, Italy might also become involved.

As these pages were closed for the press the chances of war between Turkey and Russia seemed to be increasing. Turkey had not only insisted upon retaining the famous German cruisers, the *Breslau* and the *Goeben*, which had taken refuge in the Bosphorus in the opening days of the war, but had refused to heed the demand of Russia and Eng-

land that these vessels should no longer be manned by German officers and crews. The Turkish army had been mobilized throughout the Sultan's dominions in the very opening days of August,—as soon, practically, as the armies of the belligerents in Central Europe. That this was done through German influence is not doubted. If Germany's first dash on Paris had succeeded, Turkey would probably have begun fighting with the object, among other things, of winning back the Caucasus region, lying between the Black Sea and the Caspian, that Russia had previously conquered and annexed. The tension has steadily increased.



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GERMAN CRUISER "GOEBEN," WHICH WITH THE "BRESLAU" ESCAPED TO TURKISH WATERS IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE WAR, AND WAS LATER SOLD TO TURKEY



CONSTANTINOPLE IN A RECENT PATRIOTIC DEMONSTRATION

(Several weeks ago Turkey announced the abrogation of the long-standing agreements with European powers known as the "Capitulations," which involved tariff rates and the privileged status of foreigners as regards law courts and various other matters. Turkish feeling was much aroused, and the mobilization of the Turkish army throughout the empire was associated in the minds of the people with this assertion of independence from foreign control. Japan took a similar stand in 1894.)

Rumania Under Strain
On Sunday, October 18, the Rumanian Government seized a long freight train of 150 trucks, containing artillery and munitions of war, sent by Germany to the Turkish Government. This train had passed through Austria and Hungary upon a line that was open across Rumania and the corner of Bulgaria to Varna, on the Black Sea. It was supposed that Russia had incited Rumania to make this seizure. Under the circumstances, Rumania's consent to permit the transit of munitions of war might have been regarded as a violation of neutrality, although the question had two sides and the German and Turkish governments protested vigorously. Rumania's interests were popularly thought to lie with Russia, rather than with Austria, and the death of the venerable King Carol, who passed away on October 10, made it the easier for Rumania to drift in the direction of her preferences. For King Charles (Carol, in the Rumanian form) was a member of the Hohenzollern family, collaterally though distantly related to the German Emperor. He had been made monarch of Rumania in 1866, and had therefore reigned almost half a century. His

wife, Princess Elizabeth of Wied, Germany, whom he married in 1869, and who is best known under her pen name "Carmen Sylva," had, like the King himself, won the affection and loyalty of the Rumanian people. King Charles in 1877-8 had helped the Russians in the war against Turkey. His firm purpose to keep Rumania neutral in the present war had been influential. He is succeeded by his nephew, who reigns under the title of King Ferdinand, and whose feelings are not swayed as strongly as those of the venerable Charles by the Hohenzollern blood and tradition. Rumania is shaped like an open V, with the narrow point on the Black Sea. In the angle between the extended arms lies Transylvania, which belongs to Hungary but which is inhabited chiefly by Rumanians. Thus Rumania has a strong motive for assisting Russia, in case Turkey should enter the war in alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Greece would probably be drawn into the war also, if the Turks should act; and thus a situation would be created that might affect Italy so vitally as to turn the balance against her continued attitude of neutrality. Even Bulgaria may have to take sides.

**Food Supplies
in
Europe**

Europe is highly agricultural; and in the normal order of things most European countries are practically self-sufficient as regards the production of food and other ordinary necessities. But during the past two generations population has grown fast, under the fostering care of the sanitarians and the industrial economists. Thus there has been a tendency to import food and to export manufactures. This has made England dependent upon her colonies and other regions for a large part of her bread and meat, and it accounts for her belief that she must maintain her naval supremacy as a safeguard against famine. For the present England is secure, because her hundreds of merchant ships are comparatively free from attack. The French seem little disturbed as yet about the problem of food supply, and they will be able to maintain themselves—with or without the help of Spain and other neighbors—through their own prosperous agriculture, unless the



THE NEW KING OF RUMANIA

(King Ferdinand is a nephew of the late King Charles. His sympathies are believed to be with Russia)

Nov.—2



THE LATE KING CHARLES OF RUMANIA, WITH HIS CONSORT, QUEEN ELIZABETH, KNOWN BY HER PEN NAME OF "CARMEN SYLVA"

German invasion should extend farther than it has yet reached. A very timely article, which we have secured from the pen of Dr. Carver this month, sets forth the general conditions of food supply in Europe, with extensive tables and shaded maps of a kind not before presented. Particularly striking are the maps that show the areas of wheat, rye, pork, and beef in Germany and Austria. We have also the advantage of an article from Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, on Germany's ability to feed her own people for the next two or three years. This well-known statesman and economic authority explains very interestingly the means by which the vast potato crop of Germany will be utilized, and the sugar-beet lands turned to uses more immediately urgent than the producing of additional sugar. All indications are to the effect that Germany's economic life thus far is going on with much vigor.

**American
Economic
Conditions**

The ultimate effects of the war upon our own economic life in the United States cannot be predicted with much certainty; yet in some aspects the business crisis here is more

disturbing than that which has been produced in England or Germany. For example, nothing in the agriculture or general business of either of those countries has been felt more severely than our great South has already come to feel the pinch due to the fall in the price of cotton,—a subject that we shall discuss in further paragraphs and that is elaborately set forth in an article by Mr. Spillane, presenting both the national and world-wide aspects of the cotton crisis. The banking world has not changed its opinion about the gravity of the burden which the European need of capital may throw upon the resources of the United States. Europe had invested in our enterprises to the extent of perhaps six thousand million dollars. All the governments of Europe are compelling their monied classes, by one means or another, whether by taxation or by the purchase of notes and bonds, to pay the current war bills. Thus the European bankers and investors must find money, and the easiest way to do it will be to throw American securities back upon our market when the exchanges are open and buyers can be reached. So far as business goes, neutral countries may be just as badly hurt by a war for which they have no responsibility as are the belligerents themselves. This forms another reason why war on the large scale must be exterminated, and why a country like the United States must prepare to fight for perpetual peace.

*The Right
Kind of
Economy*

The situation is not one for waiting or for hopeless inaction. Much, indeed, may be accomplished by sheer energy and optimism in the face of difficulties. There is no need of the kind of saving that withdraws capital from active work and hoards savings in the miserly or timid spirit. The more actively men pursue their callings, the more readily will the losses be repaired. The great lack in the economical world is going to be that of productive capital. True economy, therefore, is the kind that limits luxurious and needless expenditure, in order that more capital may be available for keeping the wheels of industry moving and giving employment to labor. Some hopeful aspects of American opportunity are set forth in Mr. Appel's article on our foreign imports and our home products (see page 594) and in the articles upon our mineral products and such chemical industries as those that make aniline dyes from coal-tar (see page 590). In the long run, many changes will come through compelling necessity.

*Efforts to Help
the Cotton
Planters*

The confused and discouraged state of the cotton industry is well described in the article by Mr. Richard Spillane to which reference has been made. Stated briefly, the situation confronting the cotton planters and the whole industrial and financial organization of the South, which so directly depends on the planters' prosperity, is this: With the cotton crop this year almost, if not quite, the largest ever raised in the South, comes the great European war and a sudden reduction in consumption owing to the virtual cutting off of the demand from continental Europe and the shutting down of many cotton factories in Great Britain. As a result there is a quantity of the new crop, estimated at five million bales, for which there will be no demand. The price of the staple has declined rapidly to less than seven cents per pound. The planters consider that it costs ten cents per pound to produce cotton. With such an enormous surplus supply, it seems not unlikely that if the planters press their crop for sale the price will go even lower. To make matters worse for the South at large, the whole cotton raising industry is operated largely on a credit basis. The planter gets his fertilizer and other supplies from the merchants, expecting to pay for them with the proceeds of the next crop. The merchant has purchased his goods from the manufacturer and jobber on credit, and these in turn have borrowed money to carry them until the planter has sold his cotton and paid the merchant and the merchant has paid the wholesaler. It is readily seen how serious is the collapse threatened, with the current prices of cotton already less than half the normal, and tending rapidly toward only half the cost of production.

*Many Devices
Proposed*

All sections of the United States have the deepest sympathy for the South in this situation threatening its new prosperity, which has come about from causes which the southern people could have done nothing to forestall. A great number of plans to afford aid have been offered in Congress, in the State legislatures and in financial circles. Many of them are extremely revolutionary in character. The "buy-a-bale" movement, in which individuals and business firms have been exhorted each to purchase a bale of cotton, can certainly do no harm, and the ready response shows a generous sentiment that is of value; but as these individual bales must come back on the market, there is nothing important to

be expected from the effort. The legislature of the State of Texas is considering bills limiting the amount of cotton acreage next year to twenty acres for any individual planter, in the hope that the example of Texas will be followed by the other cotton-raising states. Many Southerners believe the only remedy is to plant no cotton at all next year, and attempts have been made to obtain state and federal legislation prohibiting the cultivation of cotton in 1915. Many efforts have been made in Congress to get Federal aid through the issue of bonds to purchase a portion of the crop, and also to obtain sufficient money from the Federal Government to finance the planters by lending money on the crop of 1914.

*A Pool to Loan
on Cotton*

The plan that seems to have obtained the sympathy of the Administration was the proposal emanating from a group of southwestern financiers, headed by Mr. Festus J. Wade, of St. Louis, to raise a fund of \$150,000,000 to lend to the present owners of the actual cotton. This plan called for subscriptions from the New York bankers of some \$50,000,000, and from the Southern financial institutions a like amount, with the rest of the country contributing the same sum, the whole to be put in the hands of the Federal Reserve Board and loaned to the cotton planters at six per cent. interest. The security would be the warehouse receipts of the cotton, the term of the loan one year, unless the borrower should wish to pay it sooner, and the right is given the Reserve Board to extend any loans made for two periods of six months each. The loans are to be made on a basis of six cents a pound. It was believed that the very fact of the existence of the pool and the ability of the cotton holder to carry his crop over the year would tend to establish a higher price for the staple. It was also thought that spinners and other users of cotton would be drawn into the market as purchasers, increasing the current demand, when they were assured by this plan that the bottom was not going to fall out of the prices of their raw material.

*The True
Remedy -
Diversification*

Certainly anything that can be done to help the South in its immediate emergency should be done. But the final remedy for such a situation as the cotton planters are facing now must come from finding new uses for cotton, and the resulting increase in demand, and from a greater diversification of crops in the

cotton states. The cotton planter now very generally buys hay and corn for cash. He must get in the habit of raising such necessities for himself. It has been ascertained by the Department of Agriculture that whereas the average Ohio farm has 125 fowls, the average South Carolina farm has only 14. The best friends of the South and of its planters believe that the true way to guard against the ups and downs of "King Cotton" is to raise at home the crops now bought from the West and increase the production of small farm animals.

*The New War
Taxes*

On October 16, the War Tax Bill passed the Senate, and was taken into the conference of the two Houses. Many changes were made in the measure in the course of its consideration by the Senate. The most important amendments that seemed likely to be accepted by the House were considerable increases of the taxes on beer and manufacturers of tobacco, cigars and cigarettes. It is hoped that a total of \$107,000,000 yearly will be raised by the new bill, but Secretary McAdoo is prepared to see this estimate scaled down considerably if there is a continuance of the falling off in the consumption of beer and spirits that has been noted during the last few months. Of the total expected sum, the beer tax will yield nearly \$44,000,000, and spirits and wine some \$13,000,000 more. The tax on bankers is expected to bring \$4,300,000, on theaters \$1,000,000, the stamp tax on transfers of stock and bonds \$8,000,000, and the total stamp tax \$31,000,000. From tobacco is expected \$5,000,000, chewing gum \$3,000,000, and perfumery \$2,000,000.

*Sir George Paish
Confers with
Washington*

In the middle of the month, the Treasury Department was in a conference with Sir George Paish, the noted English economist and adviser to the British Chancellor of the Exchequer. The particular mission of the celebrated financial authority was to attempt to get a settlement of the debt of the United States to Great Britain by the transfer of gold. The present balance against this country is estimated at from \$200,000,000 to \$250,000,000. We have in the Federal Treasury about \$1,000,000,000 of gold. From the American point of view, however, the transfer of so large a sum, with our holdings of gold, pledged against circulating notes, is thought to be attended with much risk. It is hoped that some arrangement may be made through the coöperation of

bankers on both sides of the Atlantic, by which, in such a situation as the present, English bankers would give the credit on their books to the English creditors of the United States, and then accept securities of the highest class instead of gold, in settlement with America. The British economist will also take up the question of cotton exports. He expressed himself as eager to have the American exchanges open, believing that their opening will greatly facilitate the movement of cotton and other American products to Great Britain.

*The Clayton
Anti-Trust
Bill*

On October 15, President Wilson signed the Clayton Bill, completing his present program for federal regulation of business. A vast number of changes have been made from the first proposals for the business legislation to be enacted by this Congress. The final result is seen in the Federal Trade Commission Law, passed in August, and the Clayton Bill. The President will name the members of the Trade Commission in December and it will take up its work with the new year. The Trade Commission will receive reports from all corporations, capitalized at \$5,000,000 or more, other than common carriers. In general, its aim is to supervise the activities of large corporations so closely as to prevent unfair competition.

*Clayton Bill
Supplements
Sherman Bill*

The purpose of the Clayton Bill is to strike a blow at monopoly, and at any tendency toward monopoly, by specifying particular acts which shall constitute restraints of trade. Price discrimination and tying-contracts are made unlawful where they substantially lessen competition. The new law forbids the existence of holding companies where they restrain commerce or tend to establish monopoly. Interlocking directorates among banks with resources of more than \$5,000,000 must cease after two years. The jail penalties provided by the Bill in its first form have been eliminated. On the 19th of October, there was published a letter from the President to Mr. Underwood, expressing strong confidence that these two measures,—the Trade Commission Bill and the Clayton Bill,—would give a new liberty of action to business men in the United States and would effectually kill monopoly "in the seed." Of the current activities of the Federal Government in the matter of trusts, the most important was the beginning, in October, of arguments in the suit for the dissolution of the

United States Steel Corporation,—the most important case of the sort ever undertaken at Washington. The evidence in the Steel case had all been taken last spring. Arguments of counsel were held before the Circuit Court in Philadelphia from October 20 to October 23. The decision of the Circuit Court is not expected before next March and then the case will be taken to the Supreme Court. At least two more years will then elapse before the final adjudication is reached.

*Argument for
Increased
Freight Rates*

On October 19 the Interstate Commerce Commission began to take testimony in the renewed application of the railroads in Eastern territory for a 5 per cent. increase in freight rates. The committee of railroad presidents charged with presenting the carriers' side of the case is made up of Mr. Daniel Willard, of the Baltimore & Ohio, Mr. Samuel Rea, of the Pennsylvania, and Mr. A. E. Smith, of the New York Central. These gentlemen quoted some striking figures in showing that the present financial condition of the roads is much worse than a year ago, when the last application was made. In 1914 the roads in the Eastern territory paid average dividends of only 4.58 per cent., the lowest in ten years, and then fell short of earning that rate by \$8,200,000. It was the first year in fifteen that these roads reported no surplus over dividends. During the past year they have invested \$249,000,000 of new capital in their properties and yet their net earnings are \$70,500,000 less than in 1913. Operating revenues in 1914 have fallen off \$48,000,000 from 1913, and the balance of the startling reduction in net is caused by an increase of \$22,000,000 in operating expenses due to higher wages, increased taxes, full-crew laws, and more costly supplies. To show how fast taxes have increased, the railroad men point out that the three largest systems in the territory under discussion,—the Pennsylvania, New York Central, and Baltimore & Ohio,—paid \$12,200,000 taxes in 1900, while in 1914 the amount was no less than \$33,400,000.

*Wilson
in Praise of
His Party*

With the passage of the War Tax measure, and the completion of the trust legislation as outlined above, Congress was prepared to adjourn with President Wilson's blessing, after being on unbroken duty for a longer time than ever before in our history. President Wilson's letter addressed to the House leader, Mr. Underwood, praised the work

of Congress in the highest terms. The letter was intended as the President's principal contribution towards the literature of a political campaign in which all the seats of the House of Representatives, and one-third of those of the Senate, are at stake. Mr. Wilson makes a skilful presentation of what the Democrats, under his leadership, have achieved during eighteen months of continuous legislative effort. He extols the Underwood tariff, praises the Trade Commission Act and the Clayton measure, and explains in a telling, popular way the principles of the Currency Act. That President Wilson has held his party so firmly together is a most remarkable political achievement.

*His Idea of
the
Trust Bills*

What the President says of the earlier accomplishments of his legislative program is well put for the campaign season, but has less interest for the general reader than his way of characterizing what Congress has now done in furtherance of the Democratic anti-trust policy. The following paragraphs from this important political document are of permanent historical value, and the business men of the country will anxiously await the working of the new laws to see if their results are in keeping with the President's theory of them:

With this new legislation there is clear and sufficient law to check and destroy the noxious growth in its infancy. Monopolies are built up by unfair methods of competition, and the new Trade Commission has power to forbid and prevent unfair competition, whether upon a big scale or upon a little; whether just begun or grown old and formidable. Monopoly is created also by putting the same men in charge of a variety of business enterprises, whether apparently related or unrelated to one another, by means of interlocking directorates. That the Clayton bill now in large measure prevents. Each enterprise must depend upon its own initiative and effectiveness for success, and upon the intelligence and business energy of the men who officer it. And so all along the line: Monopoly is to be cut off at the roots.

Incidentally, justice has been done the laborer. His labor is no longer to be treated as if it were merely an inanimate object of commerce disconnected from the fortunes and happiness of a living human being, to be dealt with as an object of sale and barter. But that, great as it is, is hardly more than the natural and inevitable corollary of a law whose object is individual freedom and initiative as against any kind of private domination.

The accomplishment of this legislation seems to me a singularly significant thing. If our party were to be called upon to name the particular point of principle in which it differs from its opponents most sharply and in which it feels itself most definitely sustained by experience, we should no doubt say that it was this: That

we would have no dealings with monopoly, but reject it altogether; while our opponents were ready to adopt it into the realm of law, and seek merely to regulate it and moderate it in its operation. It is our purpose to destroy monopoly and maintain competition as the only effectual instrument of business liberty.

We have seen the nature and the power of monopoly exhibited. We know that it is more apt to control government than to be controlled by it: for we have seen it control government, dictate legislation, and dominate Executives and courts. We feel that our people are safe only in the fields of free individual endeavor where American genius and initiative are not guided by a few men, as in recent years, but made rich by the activities of a multitude, as in days now almost forgotten. We will not consent that an ungovernable giant should be reared to full stature in the very household of the Government itself.

*Democratic
Team
Work*

Mr. Wilson ends his letter with a calm appeal to the country for a vote of confidence, which he regards as eminently well deserved. He declares that the Democratic party "is now in fact the only instrument ready to the country's hand by which anything can be accomplished." He characterizes it as united, strong, and full of the zest of sober achievement. Referring to the rival parties, he says:

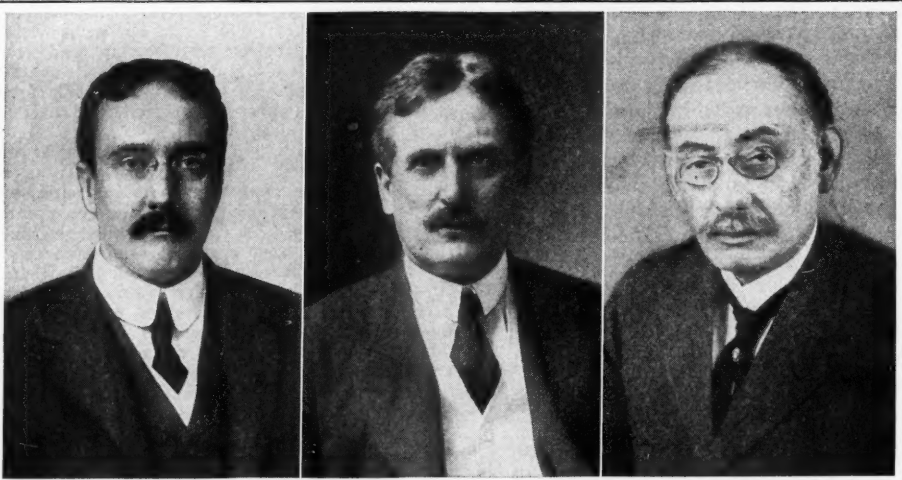
The Democratic party . . . has been rendered confident by carrying out a great constructive program such as no other party has attempted; it is absolutely free from entangling alliances which made the Republican party, even before its rupture, utterly unserviceable as an instrument of reform; its thought, its ambition, its plans are of the vital present and the hopeful future.

A practical nation is not likely to reject such a team, full of the spirit of public service, and substitute in the midst of great tasks either a party upon which a deep demoralization has fallen or a party which has not grown to the stature that would warrant its assuming the responsible burdens of State. Every thoughtful man sees that a change of parties made just now would set the clock back, not forward. I have a very complete and very confident belief in the practical sagacity of the American people.

From his review of things done he looks forward, as follows, to further work:

They [the voters] know that extraordinary as the record is which I have recited, our task is not done; that a great work of constructive development remains to be accomplished in building up our merchant marine, for instance, and in the completion of a great program for the conservation of our natural resources and the development of the water power of the country—a program which has at this session already been carried several steps toward consummation.

They know, too, that without a Congress in close sympathy with the Administration a whole scheme of peace and honor and disinterested service to the world, of which they have approved, cannot be brought to its full realization.



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JAMES W. GERARD
(Ambassador at Berlin)MYRON T. HERRICK
(Ambassador at Paris)WALTER H. PAGE
(Ambassador at London)

(Mr. Gerard, like the other two ambassadors to great countries now involved in war, has won praise for tactfulness, efficiency, due concern for American interests, and kindly feeling for the country to which he is accredited. Mr. Gerard, as an absentee candidate for the Senate in New York, will probably be elected)

Election Day and Its Prospects

Election Day falls upon Tuesday, November 3, and doubtless many of our readers will see these comments after the results are known. It would be useless to make extended forecasts; yet worth while perhaps to note the impressions that were current through October. First, it was evident that all open opposition to President Wilson had been abandoned by the Democrats, and that every local candidate wished to benefit by the prestige and strength of the recognized head of the party. Men whose bitter cavils and plotting opposition to Mr. Wilson had been even better known to others than to the President himself, crawled in to be forgiven and went forth with the President's blessing. There was a little danger lest the President's willingness to accept their penitential promises of present and future support, might be thought by the country to imply his willingness in return to endorse them. Mr. Wilson's strength must lie in the belief of the country that he despises the bosses and machines just as much now as he did a year or two ago. There was no need of his writing letters of endorsement to particular candidates seeking the support of constituents in their own States. Nevertheless, Mr. Wilson's letters have not been very numerous, and several of them were deserved. It was the common impression, last month, that the voters, without being enthusiastic for one party or for another as such, would desire

to endorse the administration of President Wilson and to make sure that through the second half of his term he would not be thwarted by an opposition majority in either house of Congress. It will take wisdom and concentration to guide the country safely through the next two or three years. The less Mr. Wilson thinks in terms of party, the more likely it will be that his broad devotion to the country as a whole will win favor for his party as well as for himself.

Party Tests Deferred Till 1916

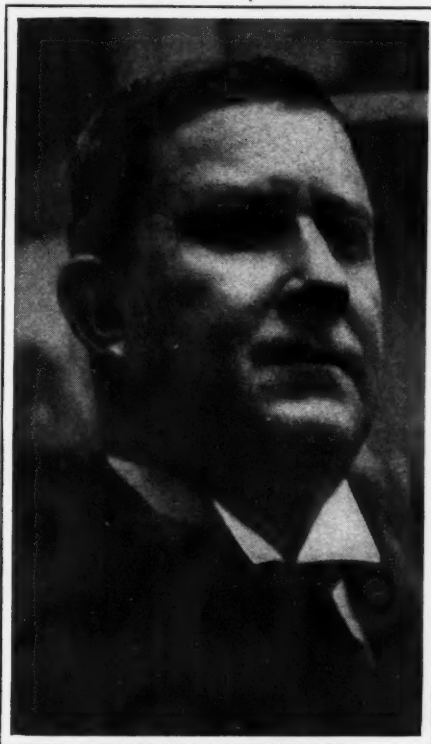
It is much too early to judge of the effects of any of our new legislation, and these things cannot well be made an issue in the present election. The war so affects imports and exports that no one yet knows how the Underwood tariff would work under normal conditions. As for the new currency and banking system, it has not yet gone into effect. Nor will the Trade Commission be at work, nor the Clayton Act understood, for another month or two. Thus Democratic laws and policies will not be subjected to the test of popular approval until the next Presidential election. It was not to be expected that the new Progressive party as such would figure very largely this year; but it seems probable that the country will wish to make some use of it in 1916. The surviving Republican organization has not been wise enough to retire the old leaders,—who in 1912 wrecked what had been a flourishing party.

Primaries and
Results in
New York

The methods and effects of New York State's first primary election for the choice of party candidates are worth noting. The important offices to be filled are Governor and Senator. The anti-Tammany Democrats, supported by the Wilson administration, tried to nominate Mr. Hennessy for Governor, and the Assistant-Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, for Senator. They were defeated, and the regular organization men, supporting Glynn for Governor and James W. Gerard for Senator, were victorious. Governor Glynn and Ambassador Gerard may well be proud of the endorsements that they have since received from the anti-Tammany "reformers" and "high-brows." They are revealed to themselves as statesmen so admirable and so useful that they may well wonder how anybody could have opposed them in the primaries. Mr. Whitman's victory in the Republican primaries was accepted in good part by his rivals. The nomination of Mr. Wadsworth for the Senate, while a victory for the Barnes organization, was also a tribute to the candidate's personal popularity. Messrs. Davenport and Colby, the Progressive nominees for Governor and Senator, respectively, are well fitted by training and character for public office; but the Progressive enrollment this year has been very light.

The politicians sometimes fool themselves in the process of fooling the public. In no State are they so prone to self-deception as in New York. The independent Democrats arise in their might to put down Tammany; the country resounds with the echoes of their

Tammany's
Renewed
Control



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CHARLES FRANCIS MURPHY, HEAD OF TAMMANY HALL, WHO HAS "STOOPE TO CONQUER" AND IS MORE POWERFUL IN POLITICS THAN EVER BEFORE

heroism; and,—in its desire to believe that they can really fight and hold their ground,—the country almost believes them! But they always discreetly surrender. A year or two ago Tammany's looting of the State had become so notorious, as exposed by Hennessy and others, that a new fight for democracy set in, and we were told that its leaders would not grow weary. But, at this very moment, the power and dominion of Mr. Charles Francis Murphy, head of Tammany Hall, are more complete than ever before. He won a thorough victory in the primaries, from the top to the bottom of the ticket. At Berlin, Mr. Gerard is a genial diplomat, *persona grata* in the highest sense. But his standing in New York politics is that of a thick-and-thin working member of Tammany; and doubtless he is too manly and too free from cheap hypocrisy to pretend for a moment that in politics he is one whit better than his life-long associates in the organization to which he owes his preferment. Governor Glynn is only one member of a Democratic State ticket that was put in the field and carried through the primaries by virtue of the compact strength of the Tammany organization. Many good things favorable to the Governor can justly be said. But the Democratic reformers, in their abject surrender to a situation cleverly shaped and controlled by Tammany, have made themselves the laughing-stock of all those who know the inside facts.

Continuous
Politics in
Massachusetts

The single State in the Union electing its Governor annually is Massachusetts. With the unending round of nominations, primaries, and

elections, the State is admittedly suffering from "too much politics"; but this year it was fortunate in being spared contests in the primaries. Governor Walsh was renominated without opposition. Ex-Congressman Samuel W. McCall announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination, and no one saw fit to oppose him. Charles Sumner Bird declined to be the Progressive candidate a third time, and Joseph Walker consented to make the race. Only two years ago Mr. Walker was the Republican nominee for Governor on the ticket with Mr. Taft. Governor Walsh has made a good record, during his brief occupancy of the executive chair; and the voters of Massachusetts have a habit,—which has assumed the proportions of an unwritten rule,—of remedying the defects of the one-year term by re-electing their Governor to a second and even a third term. But the State has had a record of large Republican pluralities (prior to 1910), and the belief of Republicans that ex-Congressman McCall would lead his party back to its former position was not unreasonable. The Progressives led the Republicans for second place last fall, but they are not expected to do as well this year.

*Senate Contests
in Vermont and
New Hampshire*

The most interesting of the New England political situations is that resulting from the contest for the seat in the United States Senate now occupied by the Hon. William P. Dillingham, of Vermont. Senator Dillingham's opponent is former Interstate Commerce Commissioner Charles A. Prouty, also a Republican but running as the nominee of the Progressive, Democratic, and Prohibition parties. Mr. Prouty had first been a candidate for the Republican nomination, but failing that, had accepted Progressive and Prohibition endorsements. The Democratic nomination came to him upon the withdrawal, in October, of Charles D. Watson, who had been

chosen by the State Convention. Mr. Prouty, incidentally, had come within a few votes of receiving the Democratic nomination in the convention itself. The combined vote of the parties supporting Mr. Prouty was nearly 50 per cent. greater, in the last election, than the Republican vote. It would, therefore, seem at last likely that the Republican party in Vermont may be defeated. In the neighboring State of

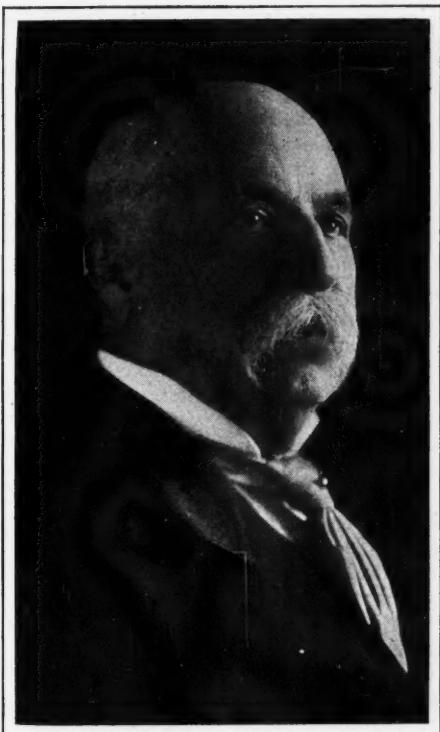
New Hampshire, Senator Gallinger's principal opponent has been Congressman Raymond B. Stevens, the Democratic nominee, with Benjamin F. Greer as the Progressive candidate. Two years ago, in a three-cornered contest, the Democratic State ticket was successful by a small plurality; but this year the Republican strength is believed to be sufficient to return Dr. Gallinger to the Senate for a fifth term.



JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.
(Whom the Republicans of New York are supporting to succeed Elihu Root in the United States Senate)

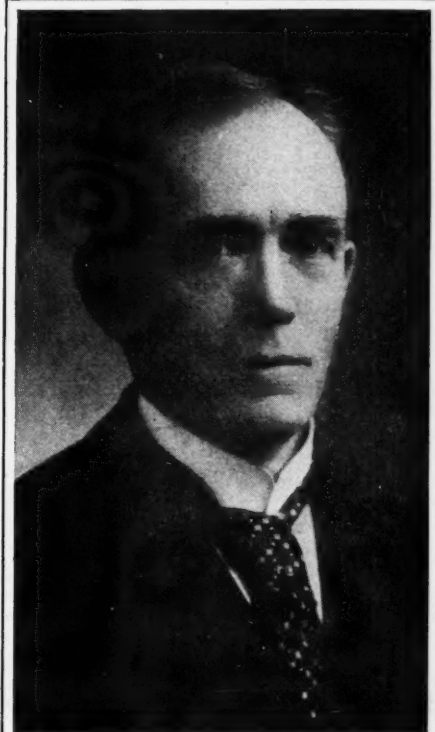
*Connecticut and
Rhode Island
Politics* The third Republican Senator from New England whose term is expiring, — Senator Brandegee, of Connecticut,—has also faced serious opposition. His principal opponent is Governor Simeon E. Baldwin, whose achievement in twice leading a Democratic ticket to victory in a strong Republican State makes it not at all unlikely that he may be successful in his present campaign. Governor Baldwin has been Chief Justice

of the Connecticut Supreme Court, and has served as president of the American Bar Association. If elected, he will be seventy-five years old before he takes his seat in the Senate. Rhode Island is electing a successor to Governor Pothier, who vacates the executive chair after five successive terms. The new Republican standard-bearer is R. Livingston Beeckman, prominent in Newport society circles and a new member of the State Senate. The Democratic candidate for Governor is Patrick H. Quinn, of West Warwick, and the Progressive is Fred D. Thompson, a resident of Providence.



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HON. JACOB H. GALLINGER, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
(The Republican leader of the Senate, who seeks reelection under conditions which two years ago placed the State administration in Democratic hands)



© G. V. Buck, Washington, D. C.

HON. CHARLES A. PROUTY, OF VERMONT
(Nominated by the Progressives, the Democrats, and the Prohibitionists for Mr. Dillingham's seat in the United States Senate)

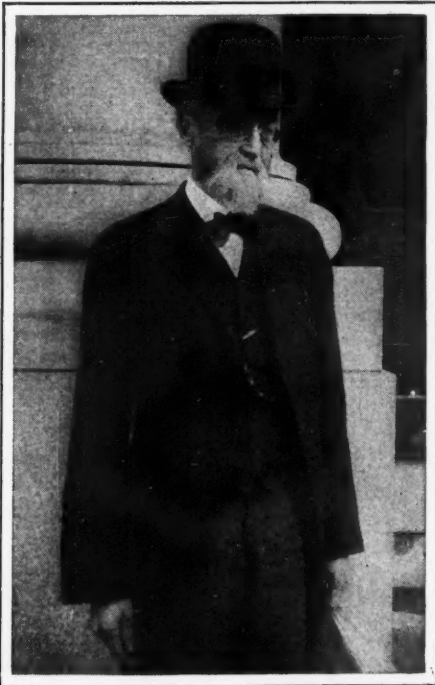
*Colorado Mine-
Owners Reject
Plan*

Reference was made in these pages last month to current industrial and political affairs in Colorado. Within the past few weeks the coal operators have replied to President Wilson's proposal of a tentative basis for the adjustment of the strike, based upon the recommendations of two representatives of the Government who have investigated the situation. The mine-owners agreed to four of the provisions, but rejected the remaining two which tended to transfer authority in certain matters, for a period of three years, to local grievance committees and to a special commission to be appointed by the President. The plan proposed had been the result of a conscientious and impartial attempt to rid the country of an intolerable situation existing in the coal fields of Colorado; and it is still hoped that the operators and miners may agree to the President's proposals, with slight modifications. It is important that the Federal troops should be released from further police duty. In the meantime the results of the Republican pri-

mary in Colorado have been definitely announced, and it appears that the successful candidates were Dr. Hubert Work for United States Senator, and George A. Carlson for Governor,—instead of those whose names were mentioned in these pages last month.

*Several
Senatorial
Contests*

Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, a leading Democrat and head of the Banking and Currency Committee, is chairman of the "National Popular Government League," to which a number of other members of Congress belong. This league shows the courage of its convictions by fighting against the election of Roger Sullivan, who is the Democratic candidate for the United States Senate in Illinois. In that State the league is supporting the Progressive candidate, Mr. Robins. Senator Penrose, of Pennsylvania, is also on the league's blacklist, which seems not to be showing preference as between Congressman Mitchell Palmer, the Democratic candidate, and Gifford Pinchot, Progressive. The



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GOV. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, OF CONNECTICUT
(Democratic candidate for United States Senate)

league holds that Penrose and Sullivan were nominated through "the influence of enormous expenditures of money by their supporters, and through the sinister power of the bi-partisan machines." Thus the contests in Pennsylvania and Illinois gain added interest, results being rendered uncertain, however, by the fact that in each case there are three important candidates instead of two. Mr. Roosevelt, who has spoken in many other parts of the country, has made speeches for Robins in Illinois, Beveridge in Indiana, and Pinchot in Pennsylvania. Another interesting contest is in Utah, where Senator Reed Smoot (who with Penrose and Gallinger is one of the inner group of Republican leaders at Washington) is running for another term. His opponent, James H. Moyle, is supported by Progressives as well as Democrats. Mr. Moyle, like Mr. Smoot, is a prominent Mormon.

Prohibition and
Woman
Suffrage

At the same time that they vote for administrative officials, on November 3, electors in many States will be given an opportunity to express their opinion upon proposed changes in their State constitutions. Most of these propositions are of interest only to the par-

ticular community affected, but two of them are of popular concern to the nation at large. One of these is the prohibition of traffic in liquors, and the other is the extension of the suffrage to women. A decade ago, Maine, Kansas, and North Dakota were the Prohibition States. Since then six southern States,—Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia,—have voted to abolish the saloon. The movement now has seized upon the far West, and on November 3 prohibitory amendments will be voted upon in Washington, Oregon, California, and Colorado, as well as in Ohio. West Virginia joined the list of "dry" States on July 1, when the amendment adopted two years ago went into effect. Virginia has followed her neighbor's example, adopting State-wide prohibition on September 22 by a majority of 35,000 votes. The prohibition leaders are most confident of success in Washington and Oregon, although Oregon rejected a similar amendment only four years ago. The issue in California is complicated by the importance of the grape-growing and wine-producing industries,—for the proposed amendment prohibits the manufacture, as well as the sale, of intoxicating liquors. The fate of the prohibition amendments in Washington, Oregon, and California, will be the more interesting because women vote in those States. Half of the territory west of the Mississippi has extended the franchise to women; and on November 3 woman-suffrage amendments will be submitted to the voters of seven more States,—Nevada, Montana, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Missouri, and Ohio.

Wisconsin
Conservatism

For the past ten years Wisconsin has been regarded as one of the most progressive States in the Union. Yet it has not been hasty in making radical changes in its form of government. It may surprise some of our readers to learn that at the coming election the people of Wisconsin will vote for the first time on constitutional amendments incorporating the initiative, referendum, and recall in the State's organic law. In these pages last month reference was made to the success in the primaries of the "standpat" candidates for the Governorship, both Republican and Democratic. This situation has brought about the entrance into the contest of a third candidate, the Hon. John J. Blaine, a progressive Republican who has the endorsement of Senator La Follette. In the

September primaries the nominees were "plurality candidates," the voters having failed to exercise their second-choice option. The progressive vote was split up and the conservative vote was concentrated; thus the conservatives won. Furthermore, there is an evident reaction in the State against progressive policies and a loud demand for retrenchment in State expenditures, which under successive progressive administrations have notably increased. It remains to be seen whether this reactionary sweep will also cause the defeat of the amendments.

*New York
Primaries a
Failure?*

Only 40 per cent. of the enrolled voters took part in the New York State primaries on September 28. To realize how slightly indicative of the popular will are the results of these primaries we have merely to remember that not only are we quite in the dark as to the desires of the 60 per cent. of enrolled voters who failed to vote at the primaries, but there are about 400,000 New York voters who are not enrolled in any party and will not declare themselves until Election Day,—if they do then. Less than one-third of the State's qualified voters have given expression to their wishes regarding candidates for United States Senator, Governor, members of the legislature, and delegates to the coming Constitutional Convention. Even among the advocates of the direct primary there have always been those who denied any special virtue in nominating machinery. The mechanism in itself, they said, can do nothing to place better men in office. It is only when the voters take the matter in their own hands and use such nominating machinery as they have, for the sole purpose of putting in office men who will truly represent them that there can be any real gain from the overthrow of the old convention system. If New York's voters are contented with a one-third representation in the primaries they cannot complain if the results are little better than the results of the party convention.

*New York's
Constitutional
Convention*

Mention has been made of the primary nominations for United States Senator and Governor. It is not too much to say that these nominations were a distinct disappointment to thousands of independent Republicans and independent Democrats; but little has been said about the primary choice of delegates

to the Constitutional Convention of 1915, although the quality of that convention may have a profound influence on the destinies of the State for many years to come. Nobody pretends that the names on the list of delegates voted on by either Democrats or Republicans on September 28 were names selected because of especial fitness, on the score of learning, or acquaintance with the Empire State's peculiar needs at this time, to frame a new constitution. On the contrary, many men might have been chosen who would perform the duties of delegates far more acceptably because of superior knowledge and training. The candidates who won at the primaries were men acceptable to the organization in each party, and whether Republicans or Democrats carry the election on November 3, the constitutional convention which meets next year will be primarily a group of politicians bearing the familiar "organization" brand.

*The Fair
at
San Francisco*

It now seems probable that the European war will have a very slight effect on the fortunes of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, which is to open at San Francisco on February 20, 1915. Early in August the management decided that there would be no postponement, but information received since that time has led to the announcement that the war will not prevent European participation in the fair, and that so far as France, Italy, Turkey, and Japan are concerned the original plans will be carried out. The government of Holland has increased its appropriation of \$100,000 to \$400,000. Spain has decided since the war began to take part in the fair and has voted an initial fund of \$100,000. Even Cuba is making a \$250,000 display, while Argentina has increased its appropriation from \$1,250,000 to \$1,750,000. England and Germany will be represented by individual exhibitors. Work on the Exposition buildings and grounds is nearly completed, and there is every reason to expect that when the tourists from the Eastern States and from other parts of the world begin to arrive at San Francisco next February everything will be in readiness. It is assumed that the diversion from Europe of American travel, caused by the war, will add materially to the Exposition attendance. Many Americans will "see America first" during the coming months, and the San Francisco show will be one of the sights.



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AUSTRIAN PRISONERS OF WAR CAPTURED BY THE SERBIAN ARMY AND PUT TO WORK AT NISH. THE SERBIAN CAPITAL WAS MOVED INLAND FROM BELGRADE TO NISH AS SOON AS AUSTRIA DECLARED WAR



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TRAINLOAD OF CAPTURED GERMAN CANNON LEAVING A FRENCH VILLAGE FOR ENGLAND AS TROPHIES OF WAR
PRISONERS OF WAR—BOTH MEN AND GUNS



A TURKISH ARMY MOBILIZATION SCENE

(Although not immediately concerned in the war, the Turkish Government ordered out its army reserves almost as soon as any of the nations actively engaged. Later developments of the international situation seemed to justify the prediction frequently made that Turkey would sooner or later enter the war)

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From September 21 to October 20, 1914)

The Last Days of September

September 21.—The Russian forces in Austria capture by storm the fortress of Jaroslaw, after two days' bombardment.

September 22.—Three British armored cruisers,—the *Aboukir*, the *Cressy*, and the *Hogue*,—are sunk in the North Sea by the German submarine *U-9*; 1450 lives are lost.

Gen. Louis Botha, Premier of the Union of South Africa and former Boer commander, announces that he will lead the South African forces in their operations against the Germans in Southwest Africa.

September 23.—British troops from Australia and India are landed near Kiau-chau to cooperate with the Japanese in an attack upon the German stronghold.

September 24.—It is announced that 32,000 Canadian volunteers have sailed to assist Great Britain in the war.

It is officially stated that subscriptions to the German war loan amount to \$1,097,394,000.

September 25.—A large force of native troops from British India is landed at Marseilles, France.

September 26.—The end of the second week of the battle of the Aisne, in France, finds the Germans on the offensive along the entire front.

September 27.—Official German statements of casualties total 15,674 dead, 65,908 wounded, and 23,007 missing (see also entry under date of October 7).

September 28.—Belgian military authorities order the 33,000 inhabitants of Alost to evacuate the city, as the German army approaches, in order to save it from the fate of other Belgian towns.

Japanese troops completely invest Tsing-tau, the fortified portion and seat of government of Kiau-chau.

September 29.—The long-expected German attack upon Antwerp, the most strongly fortified Belgian city, and the temporary capital, is begun by heavy siege artillery fire directed against the outlying forts.

September 30.—The neutral Italian Government protests to Austria-Hungary against the promiscuous use of floating mines in the Adriatic, which has resulted in destruction and loss of life on the Italian coast.

The First Part of October

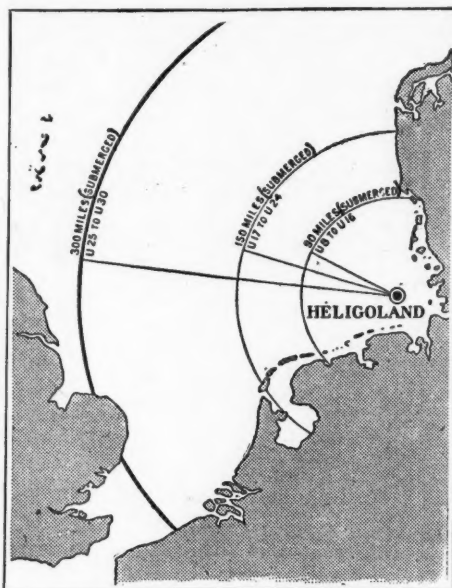
October 1.—Austria assures Italy that measures will be taken to prevent further damage to neutral shipping by mines in the Adriatic.

October 2.—Great Britain announces that German mine-laying and submarine activity has made British mine-laying in the North Sea necessary.

October 3.—The end of the third week of the battle of the Aisne finds the French line slightly advanced, northeastward, on the left wing, where a turning movement aimed to relieve Antwerp is being attempted; on the remainder of the front there has been comparative quiet, and the conflict has ceased to be an extended, sustained engagement.

The end of the second month of the war finds the German armies on the defensive in France and Russia, and on the offensive in Belgium; German forces occupy more than half of Belgium and a large portion of northeastern France, but no hostile armies are on German soil.

The French Minister of Finance announces that



THE RADIUS OF THE GERMAN SUBMARINES

(The arcs in the diagram show how far from the German naval base of Heligoland, and in the direction of England, the variously numbered German submarine boats can travel submerged. [The higher the number, the later the model of the boat,—the letter U standing for "Untersee"—submarine.] On the surface, the U-2 to U-7 boats can travel a thousand miles, while the latest type, the U-25 to U-30, can go 3,500 miles. The power of the submarine is limited by the endurance of the men and the habitability of the craft.)

the advances made to the Government during the first two months of the war amounted to \$420,000,000.

The occupation of Wei-hsien, China, by Japanese troops, and the seizure of the railroad in Shantung (German-owned), result in ill-feeling throughout China and energetic protest from the Chinese Government.

October 4.—In the United States, upon the recommendation of President Wilson, the day (Sunday) is observed as a special day for prayers for peace.

The Russian General Staff announces that a five-day engagement with a German attacking force at Augustowo (near Grodno) has ended in the retreat of the Germans.

October 5.—Three forts in the outer ring around Antwerp are reduced and taken by the Germans; the seat of the Belgian Government is transferred to Ostend.

It is announced that a Japanese squadron has seized the German island of Jaluit (midway between the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands), for military purposes, but not for permanent occupation.

October 7.—The German army attacking Antwerp begins a bombardment of the inner line of forts and of the city itself.

The British submarine *E-9* torpedoes and sinks a German destroyer near the mouth of the Ems River, Germany.

A Rome dispatch states that official German lists

indicate a loss of 117,000 men (killed, wounded, and missing) during August.

An official French estimate places the number of German soldiers in France and Belgium at 1,640,000.

October 8.—Austria reports successes against the invading armies of Montenegro and Servia.

October 9.—Antwerp is surrendered to the German attacking force after several of the inner forts are destroyed; King Albert and most of the Belgian army escape to Ostend; the city (which had been called the second most strongly fortified in the world) has withstood German artillery and an army of 125,000 men only eleven days.

A Russian official statement of the occupation of Lyck marks the beginning of the second Russian attempt to invade East Prussia.

The Second Part of October

October 11.—It is reported from Amsterdam that the German military governor of Antwerp has levied an indemnity of \$100,000,000 upon the city.

Two German aviators fly over Paris and drop twenty bombs into the heart of the city.

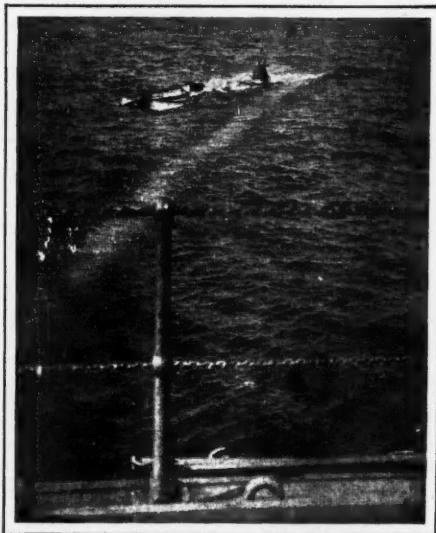
The small Russian cruiser *Pallada* is sunk in the Baltic by a German submarine; 570 men are lost.

October 12.—An official Austrian report states that the siege of Przemyśl has been raised by an advancing Austrian army.

October 13.—Holland announces that 20,000 Belgians and 1500 British soldiers have crossed into Dutch territory and have been interned.

The seat of the Belgian Government is moved again, from Ostend to Havre, France.

The Boer leader of one of the forces sent by the Union of South Africa against German Southwest Africa deserts the British cause, and, with a large number of his men, joins the Germans.



THE TRACK OF A SUBMARINE'S TORPEDO

(Although the under-water craft operates in a stealthy manner, the course of its torpedo after discharge may be detected in daylight by a trained observer. This is owing partly to the rising bubbles caused by the release of air in the compressed-air chamber of the torpedo.)



ANTWERP AND ITS VICINITY

(This map showing Antwerp and the surrounding forts also presents the Scheldt River to the point where it crosses the Dutch frontier in its course to the open sea. Germany may find it difficult to respect Holland's neutrality in the use of the River Scheldt)

Germany gives assurances to Holland that it will respect the neutrality of the Scheldt River, leading from Antwerp through Holland to the North Sea.

October 14.—The trial of the Servians whose assassination of the Austrian Archduke, on June 28, precipitated the great war, is begun at Sarajevo, Bosnia (Austria); the assassin and his accomplices admit that the plot was hatched in the Servian capital and that the revolvers and bombs were furnished by a Servian officer.

October 15.—The small British cruiser *Hawke* is sunk by a German submarine in the North Sea; 325 men are lost.

German troops without opposition occupy Ostend, the Belgian port nearest the English coast.

October 16.—Preliminary skirmishes to the west of Warsaw, between the main Russian army and the Austro-German forces invading Russian Poland, develop into an extended and severe engagement.

October 17.—The British cruiser *Undaunted*, supported by four destroyers, engages and sinks four German destroyers off the Dutch coast; 193 German sailors and officers are lost.

The small Japanese cruiser *Takachiho* is sunk by a torpedo-boat outside of Kiau-chau Bay, all on board losing their lives.

Germany estimates the number of prisoners of war taken by German armies, up to October 1, at: 8800 British, 31,300 Belgian, 94,100 Russians, and 123,000 French.

An outbreak of Asiatic cholera among Austrian soldiers in Galicia and Hungary assumes alarming proportions.

October 18.—The new British submarine *E-3* is sunk by German warships in the North Sea.

The neutral Rumanian Government seizes a train of military supplies en route from Germany to Turkey (whose participation in the war is likely).

The British losses from September 12 to October 8 (killed, wounded, and missing) are officially reported to have been 561 officers and 12,080 men.

October 19.—British warships off the coast of Belgium are able to participate in the fighting on land to check the German attempt to reach the French seacoast.

An Austrian submarine is sunk by a French cruiser in the Adriatic; a second attacking submarine escapes.

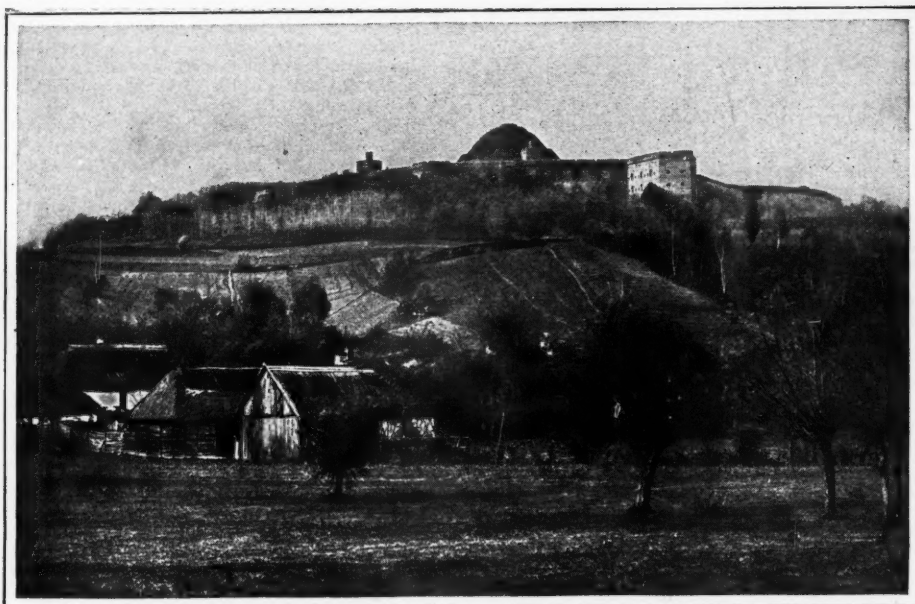
October 20.—A determined stand of the Allied forces of Great Britain, France, and Belgium seems to have checked the German advance through northern Belgium toward the French coast; Germany holds all but a small portion of Belgian territory.



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READING A MOBILIZATION POSTER IN ROTTERDAM,
HOLLAND

(The Dutch Government brought its army to the full strength early in the war, and has steadfastly maintained the neutrality of Dutch soil. More than 20,000 British and Belgian soldiers who crossed into Holland after the fall of Antwerp were disarmed and will be interned until the end of the war)



THE KOSCIUSZKO KOPIEC (MOUND) IN THE OUTSKIRTS OF CRACOW, AUSTRIAN POLAND

(Cracow, the capital of the old Polish Kingdom, is situated near the point where the frontiers of Russia, Germany, and Austria meet. It is very strongly fortified, being the great barrier against a Russian advance toward Vienna)

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From September 21 to October 20, 1914)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

September 21.—In the Senate, the filibuster of Republican members results in the recommitment of the \$34,000,000 River and Harbor appropriation bill to committee, with instructions to report a new bill carrying not more than \$20,000,000 for improvements already under way. . . . In the House, the Administration's emergency revenue bill is introduced from the Ways and Means Committee; it reimposes most of the Spanish War stamp taxes and increases the tax on beer and domestic wines.

September 22.—The Senate passes the new Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill without a dissenting vote.

September 23.—A conference committee reaches an agreement upon differences between the Clayton bill as it passed the House and the Senate's amended measure.

September 24.—In the House a rule to limit to seven hours the debate upon the War Revenue bill is carried by a vote of 202 to 150.

September 25.—The Senate ratifies the peace treaties with Great Britain, France, and Spain, signed at Washington on September 15. . . . The House, by vote of 234 to 135, passes the Emergency Revenue bill; eleven Democrats join the Republicans in voting against the measure.

September 26.—The Senate passes the Administration's bill for the leasing of coal lands in Alaska.

September 28.—In the Senate, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) criticizes the conference committee's changes in the Clayton anti-trust bill, maintaining that they seriously weaken the measure. . . . The House begins discussion of the Jones bill, promising ultimate independence to the Philippine Islands.

September 29.—The House adopts, without a roll call, the Senate's substitute Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill.

October 1.—In the House, Mr. Mann (Rep., Ill.), the minority leader, opposes Philippine independence on the ground of the importance of the islands to the United States in a possible future conflict with Japan and an awakened China.

October 2.—The House rejects an amendment to the Philippine bill, which aimed to invite European governments to join in preserving Philippine independence when established.

October 5.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Clayton anti-trust bill, by vote of 35 to 24.

October 6-7.—The Senate Democrats, in caucus, make numerous changes in the details of the War Revenue Tax bill.

October 8.—In the Senate, the War Revenue bill is reported from the Finance Committee. . . . The House adopts the conference report on the Clayton anti-trust bill, by vote of 244 to 54.

October 14.—The House, by vote of 211 to 59, passes the Jones bill, providing territorial government for the Philippine Islands and promising ultimate independence.

October 17.—In the Senate, the War Tax bill is adopted by a strict party vote, 34 to 22, all the Republicans present voting against the measure.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 22.—A State-wide prohibition amendment is adopted by the voters of Virginia, to take effect November 1, 1916. . . . In the Massachusetts primaries Governor Walsh (Dem.) is re-

nominated, and Samuel W. McCall (Rep.) and Joseph Walker (Prog.) are chosen to oppose him.

September 22-23.—The coal operators of Colorado refuse to agree to President Wilson's proposals for a settlement of their differences with the striking miners.

September 23.—The Secretary of the Treasury announces his intention to withdraw United States deposits from, and refuse emergency currency to, national banks found to be hoarding money or charging excessive interest.

September 28.—The first State-wide primary in New York results in victories for the candidates preferred by the organizations (see page 535).

... The new Bureau of War Risk Insurance, in the Treasury Department, announces that it is ready to issue policies.

October 6.—Mayor Lewis J. Duncan, of Butte, Mont., is removed from office, after trial in the District Court, for neglect of duty in connection with the recent miners' riots.

October 13.—The United States District Court dismisses all but one of the Government's contentions in its suit to dissolve the alleged Atlantic steamship trust.

October 17.—The decree dissolving the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad System, as agreed by the company and the Government, is signed in the United States District Court at New York; the road gives up the Boston & Maine, the Boston & Albany, its steamship lines, and its trolleys.

October 19.—Hearings are begun before the Interstate Commerce Commission to determine the question of increased freight rates in the Eastern territory, the railroads' revenues being reduced by war conditions.

October 20.—Final argument in the Government's suit to dissolve the United States Steel Corporation is begun in the United States District Court at Philadelphia.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 23.—General Villa, the military hero of the recent Mexican revolution, becomes dissatisfied with certain policies of Provisional President Carranza, and declares war against him.

September 28.—The Albanian Senate, contrary to the wishes of the European powers, elects a Turk (Prince Burhan-Eddin, son of the deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid) as ruler.

September 29.—Sir Charles Johnston is elected Lord Mayor of London.

October 4.—A convention of Mexican Constitutionalist generals, meeting at Mexico City, refuses to accept General Carranza's resignation as Provisional President. . . . Essad Pasha reenters Albania after four months' exile, accompanied by an army, and assumes control of the government.

October 10.—King Charles of Rumania dies.

October 11.—Ferdinand, nephew of the late King Charles, takes the oath of office as King of Rumania. . . . General Zupelli becomes Minister of War in Italy, succeeding General Grandi, who resigned, following charges of negligence in equipping the army.

October 13.—A revolt breaks out in the Union of South Africa, near the border of German Southwest Africa; Lieut.-Col. Solomon G. Maritz (a Boer) and a number of troops under his com-

mand join forces with the Germans, whom they had been sent to attack.

October 14.—General Carranza again presents his resignation as Provisional President of Mexico, to a convention of Constitutionalist leaders meeting at Aguascalientes.

October 16.—Premier Salandra, of Italy, assumes the portfolio of Foreign Affairs upon the death of the Marquis di San Giuliano.

October 19.—General Villa appears before the conference of Mexican Constitutionalist leaders at Aguascalientes, and promises to support a Provisional President chosen by the convention.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 25.—France presents to the United States and other neutral governments detailed charges of violations of international conventions by German troops.

October 1.—A treaty is signed at Washington, binding the United States and Russia to submit to an international commission, for investigation, all disputes that cannot be settled diplomatically.

... Announcement is made at Washington of agreements between the United States and Great Britain, and Great Britain and Holland, by which American foodstuffs may be shipped to Holland but not reshipped to Germany.

October 2.—China protests a third time against the occupation of Chinese territory (outside a prescribed zone) by Japanese troops in their operations against the German concession at Kiau-chau; the Japanese occupation extends to Wei-hsien.

October 3.—The Turkish Ambassador to the United States, A. Rustem Bey, leaves Washington to return to Turkey because of official dissatisfaction with his published views on American affairs.

October 5.—The United States is notified that Turkey has put into effect a schedule of increased customs duties.

October 19.—American marines are landed at Cape Haitien, Haiti, to maintain order, after the town is seized by revolutionists.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 5.—More than 3000 lives are lost in an earthquake in the province of Konia, Turkey.

October 8.—The Government's crop report indicates a record harvest of 892,000,000 bushels of wheat and a normal corn crop of 2,676,000,000 bushels. . . . Dr. Simon Flexner, of New York, announces that he has succeeded in isolating and transmitting the germ of infantile paralysis.

October 13.—The Boston National League baseball team (the "Braves") wins the world's champion series, defeating the Philadelphia American League team in the fourth straight game. . . . Cardinal Gasparri is appointed Papal Secretary of State.

October 14.—At a conference of bankers, in New York City, a plan is formulated whereby a cotton fund of \$150,000,000 will be raised and loaned upon warehouse receipts for cotton.

October 15.—The Panama Canal is temporarily closed to traffic by an earth slide in Culebra Cut.

October 20.—President Wilson addresses the American Bar Association, in convention at Washington, D. C., making a plea for the humanizing of law.



SECRETARY REDFIELD, OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, AND THE NEW COMMERCIAL ATTACHES WHO HAVE BEEN SENT TO EMBASSIES AND LEGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IN EUROPE AND SOUTH AMERICA

(From left to right are: Albert H. Baldwin, former chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, who goes to London; V. L. Havens, who goes to Santiago, Chile; Erwin W. Thompson, assigned to Berlin; A. I. Harrington, sent to Lima, Peru; Dr. Albert Hale, formerly of the Pan American Union, who goes to Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Dr. Charles W. A. Veditz, assigned to Paris)

OBITUARY

September 23.—John McGaw Woodbury, M.D., former Street Cleaning Commissioner of New York City, noted as a sanitary engineer and an administrator, 58.

September 24.—Rear-Adm. Herbert Winslow, U.S.N., retired, 66. . . . Capt. Samuel S. Burdett, former Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic and an ex-Congressman from Iowa, 78.

September 25.—Sir James Pliny Whitney, Premier of Ontario, 70.

September 27.—John M. Wever, ex-Congressman and prominent in business affairs of northern New York, 67.

September 28.—Richard W. Sears, the Chicago mail-order merchant, 50. . . . Prof. William Kendall Gillett, professor of Romance Languages at New York University, 54. . . . Very Rev. Martin J. Geraghty, former Provincial of the Augustinian Order of America, 46.

October 2.—Rev. Dr. James Lincoln Goodnight, Stated Clerk and Treasurer of the General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, 68.

October 3.—Gardiner Martin Lane, the Boston banker and art patron, 54. . . . Amasa M. Eaton, of Providence, a well-known advocate of uniform State legislation, 73. . . . Amos M. Kellogg, formerly editor of the *School Journal*, and a writer of text-books, 84.

October 4.—Dr. L. Bolton Bangs, a prominent genito-urinary surgeon of New York, 72.

October 6.—Comte Adrien Albert Marie de Mun, French Academician, Deputy, and noted orator, 73. . . . Dr. Thomas Opie, for many years dean of the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Baltimore, 72.

October 7.—Brig.-Gen. Edgar R. Kellogg, U.S.A., retired, 72. . . . Richard L. Hand, ex-president of the New York Bar Association, 75.

October 8.—Rev. Dr. Jacob Pister, president of the German Evangelical Synod of North America, 72. . . . Hugh Thomas Taggart, a distinguished member of the Washington bar, 70. . . . Prof. Richard Meyer, the German historian, 54.

October 10.—King Charles I. of Rumania, 75.

October 13.—Reuben Reid Gaines, former Chief Justice of the Texas Supreme Court, 77. . . . Margaret E. Knight, a noted inventor, the first woman to obtain an American patent, 75.

October 15.—Dr. Anthony Traill, provost of Trinity College (Dublin), 76.

October 16.—Marquis di San Giuliano, Italian Foreign Minister, 61. . . . Gen. Rafael Uribe Uribe, leader of the Liberal party in Colombia. . . . Mrs. M. C. Goodlett, founder of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 70.

October 19.—Mgr. Robert Hugh Benson, a noted Roman Catholic convert and English author, 42. . . . Gen. Julio Argentino Roca, former President of Argentina, 71.

October 20.—Justice Edward B. Amend, of the Supreme Court of New York, 56. . . . Dr. Bukk G. Carleton, a prominent New York surgeon and author of medical books, 57.



CALLED TO THE COLORS—THE FATHER'S FAREWELL TO HIS SON

© *Lustige Blätter*, August 12 (Berlin)

GERMANY'S MARTIAL SPIRIT

AS SHOWN IN GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN CARTOONS



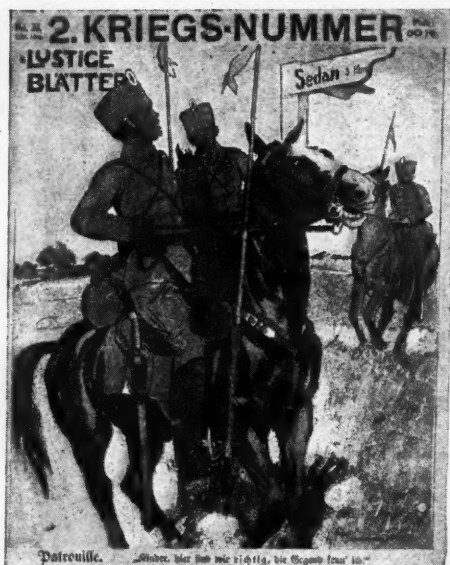
THE WORLD'S HALL OF FAME

THE ROMAN EAGLE, to the Eagle of Napoleon, (pointing to the German): "That bird must also be reckoned with!"—© *Ulk*, September 18, (Berlin)

IT is hard to realize with what self-confidence and assurance,—both of a righteous cause and of a prowess unconquerable,—Germany entered upon the great war to establish her world position as she had come to conceive it. It was not the General Staff and the military leaders alone. The leaders of thought and of opinion, also, were of one accord. In France,—invaded and fighting for very existence,—printing has largely ceased. The daily newspapers are meager, and the illustrated periodicals are virtually non-existent,—editors, artists and craftsmen at war, and shops closed. Even in England the daily and the periodical press,—with exceptions,—is less vigorous and vital than in ordinary times.

But in Germany the printers are at work; periodicals are enriched with exquisite colored pictures; and the cartoonists, whose compeers in France and England have gone to war, are as active and confident as any other members of their militant Teutonic nation.

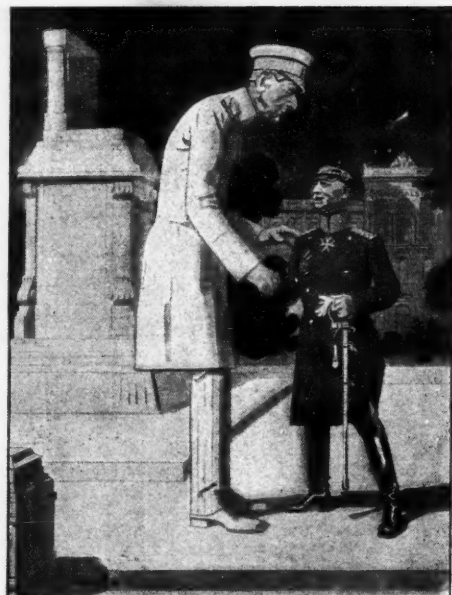
We have selected from the cartoon papers of Germany and Austria about fifty cartoons drawn since the opening of the war, these



"COMRADES, WE ARE ON THE RIGHT ROAD. I KNOW THE REGION"

(Note the sign post: "Sedan, 3 kilometers")

© *Lustige Blätter*, August 10 (Berlin)



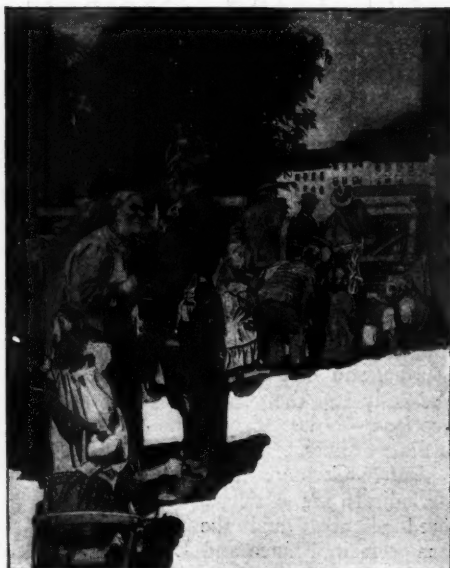
THE TWO MOLTKE

MOLKE (chief of the present German General Staff) to his great-uncle of 1870 fame: "Good-bye, Uncle. We'll do it!"

© *Lustige Blätter*, August 10 (Berlin)

being only a part of the many that are current in Germany. We present them herewith, not only for their varied interest but also for their cumulative impression. It should

be remembered that in the original many of these drawings are printed in colors

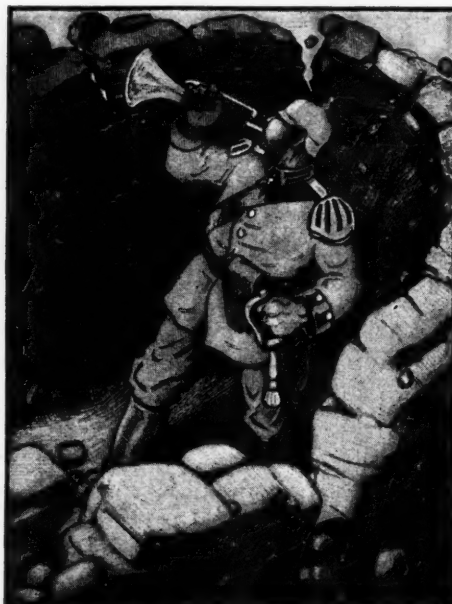


REMINISCENCES

THE YOUNG SOLDIER'S MOTHER: "Now Fritz, when you get to Paris, let some native show you exactly where your father stood on guard in 1870, and you go stand on that self-same spot."

(There seems to be no doubt whatever in the minds of the Germans as to their reaching Paris)

© *Lustige Blätter*, August 12 (Berlin)



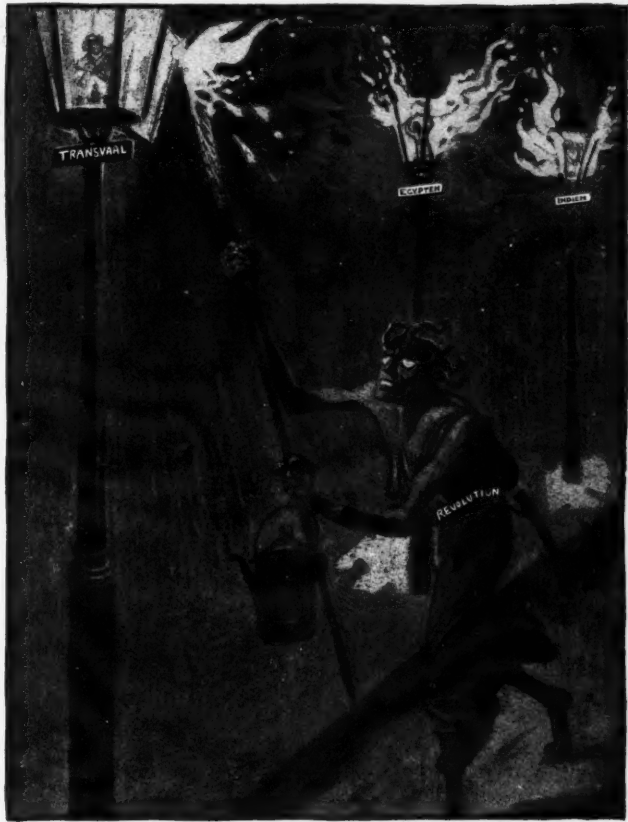
THE ENCIRCLING WALL OF ENEMIES

(One blast from Germany's martial trumpet, and the Allies' ramparts will crumble)

© *Ulk*, August 28 (Berlin)

and make a bold appearance, occupying full pages of weekly periodicals most of which are of larger form than such American periodicals as *Life*, *Puck*, and *Judge*. Our selections, as will be seen from the credits, are from *Lustige Blätter*, *Ulk*, and *Kladderadatsch*, all of Berlin, *Der Jugend* of Munich, *Wahre Jacob* of Stuttgart, and *Kikeriki* and *Die Muskete*, both of Vienna.

There was evidently a general belief in Germany that the British Empire as a whole would not follow England into the war. A powerful cartoon in *Lustige Blätter*, on this page (as well as many others that we have not reproduced), shows the expectation that there would be revolt against England in South Africa, in Egypt, in India, and possibly even in Ireland. It was expected that Turkey, also, would be drawn into the war.



THE OLD LAMP-LIGHTER IS AGAIN ON HIS ROUNDS!

(The lamp-lighter in this case being the spirit of revolution, which is represented as starting up in England's colonial possessions)

© *Lustige Blätter*, August 15 (Berlin)



THE STORM SIGNAL

(Death has the bell rope and is ringing the alarm.)
From *Der Wahre Jacob*, September 18 (Stuttgart)

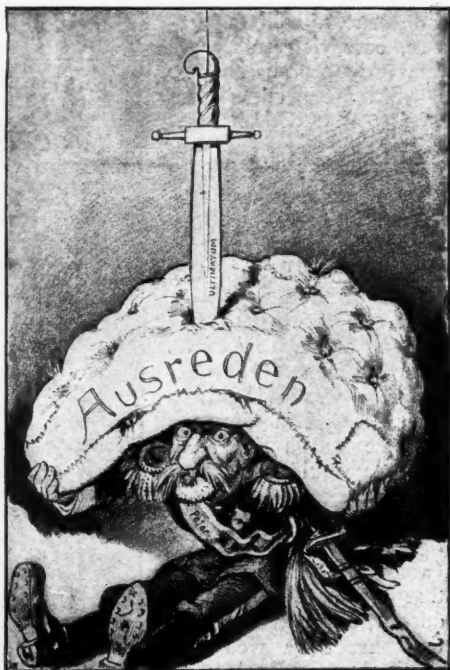


WOE BE, WHEN THE WAR GOD BREAKS LOOSE!

© *Kladderadatsch*, August 2 (Berlin)



A BIRTHDAY WISH FOR FRANZ-JOSEPH
(Von Hotzendorf, Austrian commander-in-chief, is showing the Emperor the Servian boar killed)
From *Kikeriki*, August 16 (Vienna)



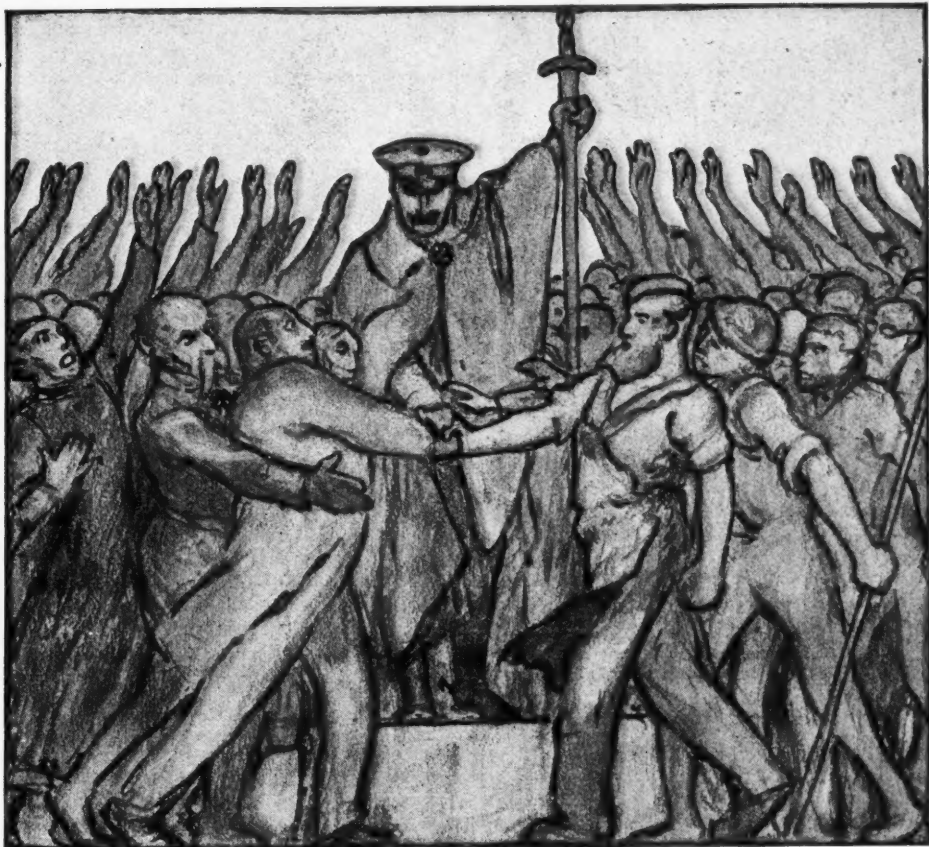
THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES
PETER, OF SERBIA: "Alas, this time my bulwark of protection has failed me!" (The protection in question being his "ausreden"—explanations and excuses)
From *Kikeriki*, August 2 (Vienna)



THE FAITHFUL FRIENDS, GERMANY AND AUSTRIA
BISMARCK: "The Germans and the Austrians fear God, but no one else in the world."
From *Kikeriki*, August 9 (Vienna)



THE SPIRIT OF GERMANY
The strong spirit of Germany has drawn the old sword again, while puny, perfidious England stands by, teeth chattering with fear.
© *Kladderadatsch*, August 23 (Berlin)



GERMANY UNITED

"I no longer recognize political parties—I know only Germans!" (The Kaiser's statement at the beginning of the war)—© *Jugend*, August 16 (Munich)

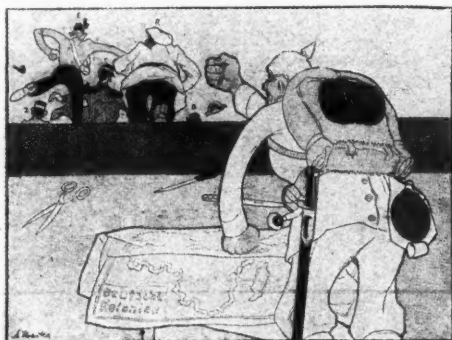


THE TWO BATTLE STANDARDS

Examine these banners and you will know which side will be victorious. (The Servian flag, on the left, is labeled "For Murder and Perfidy." The Austrian ensign, on the right, is labeled "With God, for Kaiser and Fatherland.") From *Kikeriki*, August 2 (Vienna)



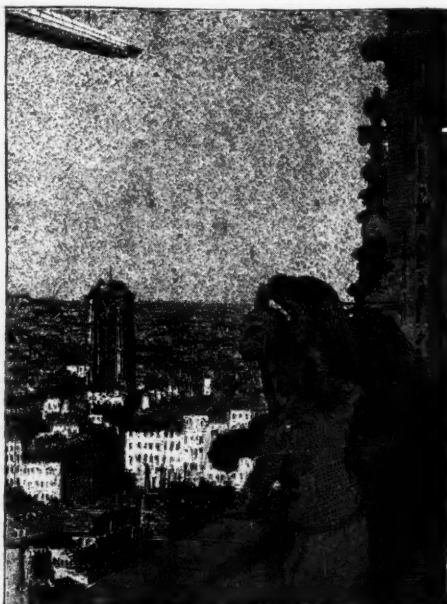
EAST PRUSSIA
The surging Huns are beaten back,
And German soil is free.
Come husbandman, and woman, too,
The furrows now plow ye.
© Ullk, September 11 (Berlin)



THE PARTITIONING OF GERMANY'S COLONIAL POSSESSIONS

(In the top picture the Allies are greedily hastening to divide up the German possessions—the artist, with characteristic German spirit, putting the largest pair of shears—two of them, in fact—in England's hands. Along comes the German army, saying, "Pray wait a moment, gentlemen," but the Allies prefer not to linger)

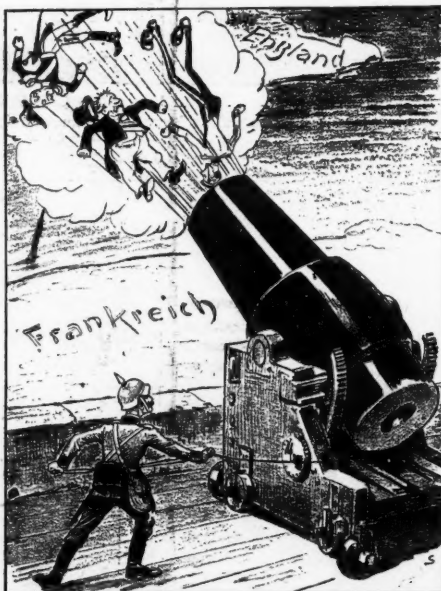
© Ullk, August 28 (Berlin)



PARIS

("Kommt ein vogel geflogen" ("a bird comes a-flying") is the simple caption of this cartoon, quoting from an old German song. The exclamation is supposed to come from Paris as the Zeppelin airship appears in sight)

From Die Muskete, September 24 (Vienna)



WHAT THE GERMAN 16-INCH GUN CAN DO

(The German gunner shooting the King of Belgium, the President of France and the English army back to England. The Germans have been priding themselves on the possession of tremendously large guns with enormous power)

From Kikeriki, September 6 (Vienna)



POINCARÉ'S DEPARTURE FROM PARIS
(The new seat of the French Government—on wheels!)
From Kikeriki, September 30 (Vienna)

The German cartoons in general are intensely bitter and contemptuous in their references to England, while they also show unmeasured disdain in their attitude towards the Czar, the Russian soldiers, the Servians, and pan-Slavism in general. But towards France they are not vindictive, and their attitude is rather humorous than satirical or hateful. Thus they were amused by the flight of President Poincaré to Bordeaux, and they were rather sorry for France as of



POINCARÉ IN BORDEAUX
Sauve, qui peut! "Drink, who can."
From Kikeriki, August 15 (Vienna)



FRANCE: "AM I FIGHTING FOR HONOR? NO, FOR GOLD!"

(Meaning that France joins Russia in the contest not from any honorable motive, but to protect her own loans to that nation)

© Jugend, August 4 (Munich)

necessity drawn into a losing war by reason of an expensive and unfruitful alliance with Russia. The cartoonists of early August all reflected Germany's expectation of reaching Paris within six weeks.



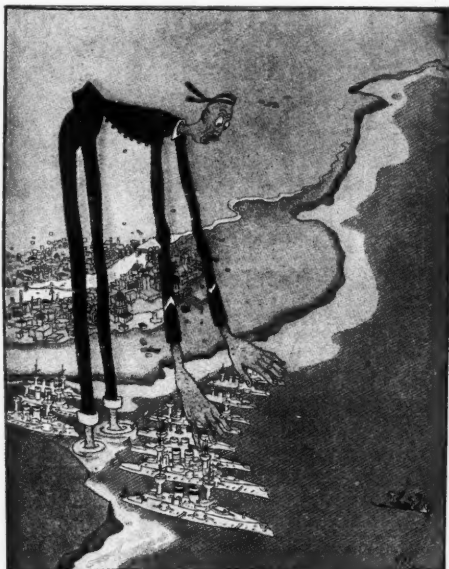
THIS YEAR'S AUTUMN MANEUVERS WILL TAKE PLACE IN FRANCE

© Lustige Blätter, August 10 (Berlin)



TRUTH, BOUND CAPTIVE—JOHN BULL'S FIRST
HEROIC DEED!

© Kladderadatsch, August 23 (Berlin)



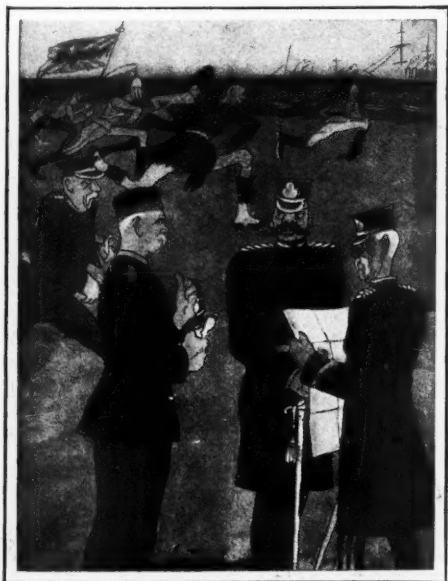
THE PANIC ON THE THAMES

"In Heaven's name, there comes something again!"
(The object turns out to be a dead cat, floating on
its back.)

© Lustige Blätter, August 15 (Berlin)

The Germans are certainly not wasting any affection on the English. John Bull's stifling of the truth by cutting German cables is one of their familiar charges, while

their hatred for the English Foreign Minister, Lord Grey, is frequently expressed. Nor do they hold the British Army and Navy in very high regard, as their cartoons show.



THOSE ENGLISH SPORTSMEN

"Now, General French, what have you accomplished on the Continent?"
"We have captured the world championship in running."

© Jugend, September 1, (Munich)



GERMAN LOVE FOR LORD GREY!

"So," says His Satanic Majesty, as Lord Grey is brought down to his dominions, "here is one whom we shall roast very slowly."

From Der Wahre Jacob, September 4 (Stuttgart)



ENGLAND: "CONFOUND IT ALL, MY BEDFELLOW IS GETTING WILD"

(Another cartoon that endeavors to show one of Germany's enemies afflicted with internal troubles. India, represented by a tiger, in the above cartoon, is lashing England with his tail)

© Ull, August 21 (Berlin)



JAPAN'S ULTIMATUM TO GERMANY

"Well trained," says the caption of this cartoon, showing England as the master of the Japanese monkey, who has been told to pilfer Kiau-Chau from Germany while she is engaged against her enemies

From Kikeriki, August 30 (Vienna)



THE RECKONING WILL BE WRIT LARGE!

We know well that you are not friendly towards the Germans, John Bull; business is business. But your bringing the "Yellow Dragon" [Japan] into the contest against Germany, that, John Bull, was an inspiration of your intimate adviser, Satan himself! (One of the things which have called forth Germany's intense criticisms of the Allies has been their bringing of Japan, as well as large forces of native troops from their colonial possessions, into the struggle.)

From Der Wahre Jacob, September 4 (Stuttgart)



THE LATEST MANIFESTATION OF CULTURE (France [represented by Poincaré] and England [represented by Kitchener] bringing the black and savage inhabitants of their colonies into the war)

© Jugend, September 15 (Munich)

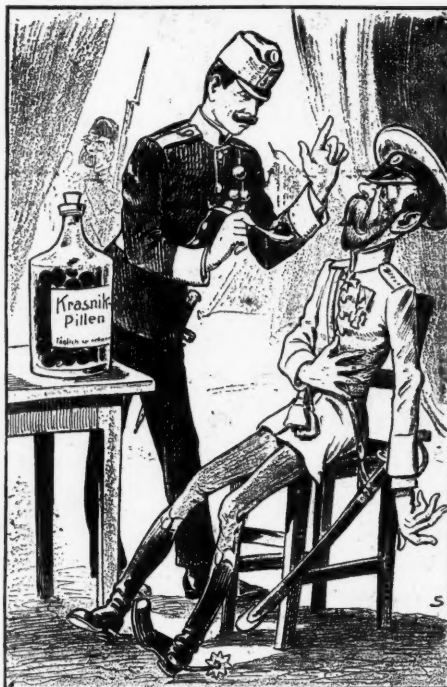


THE KISS OF JUDAS

(The Czar Nicholas is here pictured as embracing the Kaiser while at the same time stabbing him in the back.)

© Kladderadatsch, August 9 (Berlin)

The above cartoon expresses the German contention that the Czar was actually mobilizing his troops while protesting desires for peace and love for the Kaiser.



DOCTOR AUSTRIA PRESCRIBES FOR THE CZAR
THE AUSTRIAN PHYSICIAN (referring to the reported Russian defeat at the battle of Krasnik): "Your majesty, these pills are bitter, but salutary."

From Kikeriki, September 6 (Vienna)



THE SCOURGE OF EUROPE

With this knout (France, England, and Serbia) Russia proposes to destroy civilization.

From Kikeriki, August 16 (Vienna)



THE INSIGNIFICANCE OF THE CZAR

"In our Russian land we peasants have no voice whatever in government."

"Still they have more to say than I have."

"And who are you, then?"

"I am the Czar of all the Russias."

© Uik, August 21 (Berlin)



THE CZAR OF RUSSIA IN HIS DOUBLE RÔLE OF A LOVER OF PEACE AND AS A BOMB-THROWING BARBARIAN

From Kikeriki, August 9 (Vienna)



THE ORACLE OF ST. PETERSBURG

THE CZAR (to his adviser): "Yes, indeed, Rasputin, your cards are good; but I am afraid those of the German General Staff are better"

© Lustige Blätter, August 12 (Berlin)



PROCLAMATION BY THE CZAR!

"My beloved subjects! Reminding you of the great and numerous benefits which you have received from me, I reckon on your willing and enthusiastic service in my armies."—© Lustige Blätter, August 15 (Berlin)



"TO MY BELOVED JEWS"

(This cartoon is apropos of the Czar's proclamation to his Jewish subjects, and is accompanied by some verses recalling the past treatment of the Jews in Russia)—From Kikeriki, August 30 (Vienna)



RUSSIAN GUARDS ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER

"Dmitri, I have a fine war plan. I will throw my gun across the line, run after it, get captured and will then get some good meals!"

© *Lustige Blätter*, August 10 (Berlin)



"CONFOUND IT ALL, WHAT'S BITING ME?"

(The idea being that Russia is being attacked internally by the spirit of revolution—apparently expressing a hope or a prediction, perhaps, rather than an actual situation)

© *Ulk*, August 21 (Berlin)

In German eyes everything Russian is now treated with utmost contempt. The Czar is belittled and his soldiers pictured as de-

spicable objects. Not only are the reported Russian victories merely myths, but revolution has actually broken out in the Czar's dominions!



THE PEDDLING ASTROLOGER, A FAMILIAR STREET FIGURE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

(Russia is here shown as a broken-down individual, with his crutches and "wutky" bottle—the Germans and Austrians seldom caricature the Russian without his wutky, that is, his strong-drink—who, in spite of his disability, is still peddling news of victories!)

From *Kikeriki*, September 13 (Vienna)



HOW RUSSIA MOBILIZES

(Showing German contempt for the Russian soldier, featuring him as a drunkard. The Russian mobilization, in short, has simply been a mobilization of liquor kegs!)

© *Lustige Blätter*, August 10 (Berlin)



MARS (to Kaiser Wilhelm and the King of Italy): "Do you wish to ride, gentlemen?"—(the point of the cartoon being the question whether Italy will remain neutral, or elect to ride with Kaiser Wilhelm in the carriage of the War God)—© *Lustige Blätter*, August 12 (Berlin)



A SUGGESTION FOR CONQUERING MONTENEGRO

Montenegro (represented in the cartoon by King Nicholas) can be won over by a single Austrian—namely, a well-provided postal money carrier. (In other words, Montenegro can be bought!)

From *Der Musketier*, August 13 (Vienna)



THE CURSE OF THE EVIL DEED

PETER OF SERBIA: "Whither shall I ride?"

THE SPIRIT OF ALEXANDER OF SERBIA: "To that dark land to which you sent me."
(The implication being that King Peter had some part in the assassination of the late King Alexander)

© *Lustige Blätter*, August 12 (Berlin)



THE SUPREME COURT OF THE WORLD, - IN OTHER WORDS "LEX MARS"—THE LAW OF WAR, NOW RULES

For the purpose of settling some urgent business, a special session of the court has been set up during the vacation of the regular court.

© *Lustige Blätter*, August 12 (Berlin)



TO THE BELGIAN LION

THE GERMAN ARMY: "If you had gotten out of my way I should not have trodden on your tail." (The allusion being to the initial resistance of Belgium at Lüttich—Liège)

© *Kladderadatsch*, August 23 (Berlin)

The cartoon references to Belgium are not numerous in the German papers. The one at the bottom of this page represents the prevalent German sentiment. The very clever cartoon that refers to the Hague Tribunal is also indicative of the common view in Germany that the Hague Conferences, the Hague Treaties, and the Hague methods of adjusting disputes, are not the sort of thing for growing empires that have unfulfilled ambitions. The Law of Mars, on the contrary,—as shown in the powerful cartoon at the top of the page,—is the arbiter of great affairs, and the real maker of world history. And so the case stands.



AT THE HAGUE

("You understand, Hendricka, this war really had to come—have they not already had five sessions in the Peace Palace without dissension?")

© *Lustige Blätter*, August 12 (Berlin)

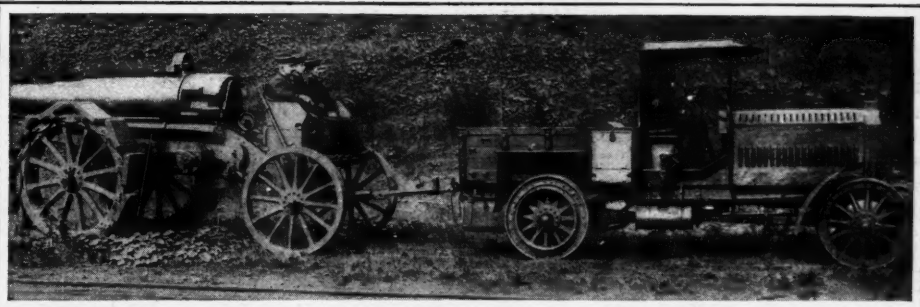


Photo Press Illustrating Co.

GERMAN SIEGE-GUN DRAWN BY AUTO TRUCK

GERMANY ON THE DEFENSIVE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

[The present article is in continuation of Mr. Simonds' notable contribution to this REVIEW last month, in which he described and explained the military movements of the first seven weeks of the great war.—THE EDITOR.]

I. THE GERMAN DEFENSIVE

AT the Battle of the Marne the great German Offensive was halted, rolled back. After six weeks a colossal military operation to end a world war by a single blow had terminated in defeat and the German General Staff, confronted by the failure of that grandiose conception which had occupied the industry and the genius of their generals for a decade, were compelled to accept that defensive rôle, so hateful to all their strategists from Blücher and Von Moltke to Bernhardt.

Yet as in the earlier weeks it had been the German Offensive which had supplied the central circumstance in the Great War, so from early September to late October it was the German Defensive which claimed equal attention. In that period German high command gave an example of resourcefulness, of skill in foreseeing and parrying deadly thrusts, of ability to transport men from one end of Europe to the other and with smaller resources keep the numbers equal at the decisive point, which was beyond praise.

To get at the throat of France, to take Paris and destroy French military power before Russia was mobilized,—this was the compelling purpose of German strategy from Liège to the Marne. But one month after the failure at the Marne, German armies were advancing in Poland, Galicia, and along the Niemen. A new army was storming the last line of the defenses of Antwerp, another was pounding at the barrier forts of Eastern France, while along the Aisne the great mass of German military strength stood inex-

pugnable on the front occupied five days after the retreat from the Marne had begun. In that time a rout, which seemed imminent, had been avoided. A retreat from France, once apparently inescapable, had been at the least postponed indefinitely. Finally, the Allied advance, frontally and by the left flank, had been halted.

Beside this struggle in France, the conflict along the distant Vistula still seemed relatively less significant. Again the world watched the German operations in the west, saw in the German Defensive in late September and October the same superb military skill of the Offensive in August and early September, discovered in the strategy of Von Kluck a new page in defensive warfare, comparable with those devoted to the achievements of Lee in Northern Virginia, of Napoleon in 1814, of the great Frederick in the most famous of all his campaigns.

In this same time and by contrast with German achievement, Allied efforts seemed incomparably inferior. With superior numbers, encouraged by recent success, possessing shorter lines of communication and hence inexhaustible supplies of reserves and material, the Allies failed to transform German retreat into a rout. They were unable to terminate German occupation of French territory either by frontal or flank attack. They did not succeed in succoring gallant Belgium in her last ditch at Antwerp. They could not turn to decisive advantage along the Aisne the latest brave fight of King Albert, which occupied so many Germans along the Scheldt.

Territory was regained, German attacks

were repulsed, advantages were won; but measured by their opportunity, the Allies in October, as in the earlier months, still seemed lacking in the mastery of the art of war, which their great opponent now displayed on the defensive, as before he had shown it in the offensive.

II. THE BATTLEGROUND OF THE AISNE

To understand the meaning of the October operations in the West it is necessary to keep clearly in mind three circumstances: First, the character of the battleground of the Aisne, which exercised a tremendous influence on the progress of the fighting; second, the compelling purpose of Allied strategy; third, the relation between the campaign in France and the Belgian struggle, which supplied the single dramatic and definitive incident in the whole period.

First of all, Why did Von Kluck decide to stand at the Aisne? What were the topographical and military circumstances of the position which was to see the greatest battle in modern warfare,—greatest in numbers engaged, in length of conflict, in extent of battle front?

Coming south toward Paris from Belgium or east from Germany, half way between the frontier and the capital, the invader reaches a long range of hills rising from a relatively level plain. This ridge extends from the western bank of the Oise near Noyon to the northern bank of the Marne, south of Rheims. That is the ridge sweeps in a wide semi-circle before, and from eighty to a hundred miles away from, the capital.

This range is named the Champagne Hills. It is highest on its outer rim, farthest from Paris, where it rises abruptly from the plain; thence it falls down to the south gradually until it touches Paris. In the French military system this range constituted the second line of French defense. To it French armies were expected to retire, after the frontier forts had been forced. Thus on the outer and highest hills, at La Fère, Laon, Rheims, commanding the railways, forts had been constructed and the line was known as the Laon-La Fère-Rheims barrier.

Against frontal attack this position seemed safe, but in August the Germans had turned the French out of it by sending their own right to the west of it, between the Champagne Hills and the Channel. Here the river Somme formed a natural barrier, but

the Allies had not been able to occupy its southern bank in force; and there were no forts to guard against invasion from neutralized Belgium. Once the position was turned, the Allies had to dismantle the barrier forts, retire behind the Marne, and surrender the second line of French defense.

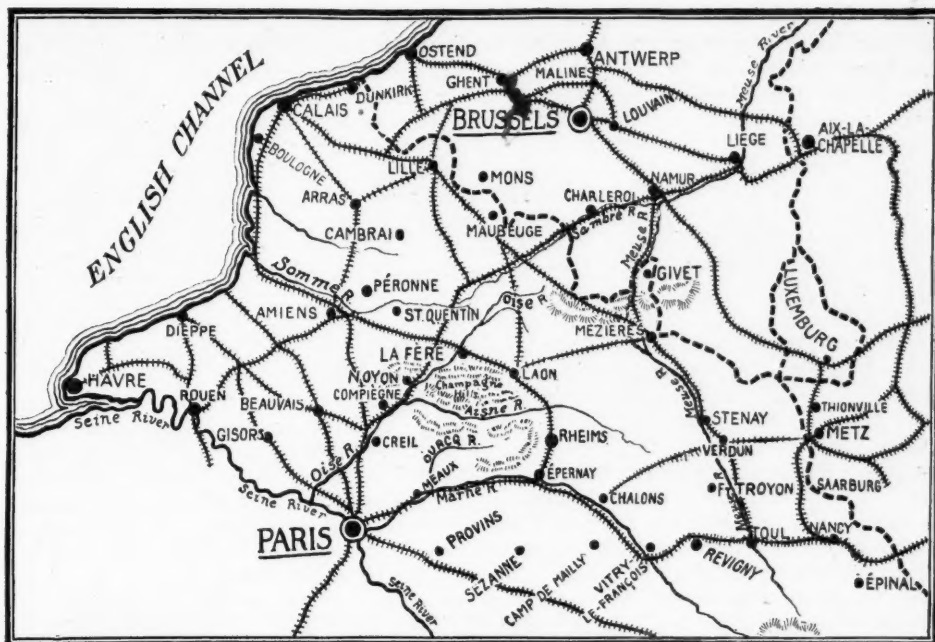
When the Germans in their turn had to retire, it was of utmost concern to the Allies that Von Kluck, on the right, should be prevented from halting on the Champagne Hills. If he could be forced beyond them, there was no defensive position short of the Belgian frontier; and Northern France would be rescued from the invader. Unfortunately the Germans, quite as completely as the French, had recognized the value of the position; and while their main armies were still advancing to the Marne they had prepared for possible reverse.

Thus, when Von Kluck, about September 12, crossed the Aisne at Soissons, he found that a German rear guard had solidly mounted along the Champagne Hills back of the Aisne, here known as the Craonne Plateau, the heavy cannon intended to reduce the forts of Paris. It had in addition covered the hillsides with trenches and fortifications. Further, it had occupied all the crossings of the Somme in force for many miles west of Noyon, thus protecting his flank, long imperilled. As the Turks, after Lule Burgas had come home to safety behind the lines of the Chatalja, the German right now, after defeat and precipitate withdrawal, had found refuge behind strong fortifications, constructed on positions of enormous natural strength, and provided with artillery of the heaviest caliber.

Here, then, for the first, but by no means the last time in this place, the foresight of the German commanders had guarded against a danger which in August seemed remote, but in mid-September had become wholly real.

III. THE STRATEGY OF THE ALLIED FORCES

When, by the victory at the Marne, the Allies at last gained the offensive, after long weeks of retreat, the first and the immediate object of all their efforts was to transform the German retreat into a rout, to destroy the German right, now rushing north, and to roll up the center and left. This effort failed when, having shown superb skill in retreat, Von Kluck passed the Aisne at Soissons about September 12.



THE WESTERN THEATER OF WAR

In the days that followed, the compelling purpose of Allied strategy was, first, by direct and tremendous assaults upon Von Kluck, standing on the Champagne Hills and above Soissons on the Craonne Plateau, to force him back off the northern rim of this range into the plain north of La Fère and Laon. When, in consequence of the heavy artillery and entrenchments the Germans had prepared, this attempt failed, the Allies endeavored, by a move by their own left flank and around Von Kluck's right, to cut his communications, and, in sum, to turn his position, precisely as he had turned theirs, when they had stood on the Laon-Le Fère-Rheims barrier, in August. It was the first effort which marked the early days of the great battle and during these days it remained in fact the Battle of the Aisne.

From September 13 to 18, the assault upon the Craonne Plateau was pushed. In the first days the Allies crossed the Aisne east and west of Soissons. They effected a lodgment in the first slopes of the Craonne Plateau, but could advance no farther. In fact, they were compelled to dig themselves in, wait for the arrival of heavy artillery and settle down to a siege. Just as Grant, in 1864, after a futile effort to take Petersburg by storm, had been compelled to exchange the bayonet for the shovel, the Allies were forced to resort to trenches and along the

Aisne, as south of the Appomattox, there promptly grew up two parallel lines of earthworks behind which both armies were secure from assault.

Meantime the battle-lines had extended. Von Bülow, compelled to withdraw from the Marne by Von Kluck's defeat, came back slowly through Chalons and Epernay, made contact with Von Kluck north of Rheims and then, taking the offensive, drove the French from the hills east of Rheims, on which their dismantled forts stood, posted his artillery there and began the bombardment which injured the cathedral. At this point the Allied advance was also brought to a complete halt.

Finally, the German left, with Von Einem west of the Argonne and the Crown Prince on the east, made contact and formed a battle-line from the Oise to the Meuse north of Verdun, in fact from Noyon on the Oise to the German fortress of Metz on the Moselle, which became the pivot of German maneuver. As the French at the Marne had stood with their flanks resting on Paris and the barrier forts, so the German battle-line now stood rooted with fortifications on either flank. From these they could not be driven by frontal attack; and by September 18 the Allied effort to drive the Germans out of France had failed. There was left to Allied strategy the resource of a tremendous turning movement. With it, the Battle of the

Aisne, which had already become the Battle of Four Rivers, was to become the Battle of the Seven Rivers,—of the Oise, the Aisne, the Meuse, the Moselle, the Somme, the Scheldt, and the Lys.

IV. TO THE SOMME AND THE SCHELDT

In August the Allies had been turned out of the Champagne Hills because they were unable to hold the line of the Somme. In September Von Kluck was faced with the same difficulty. For the moment his reserves held back the Allied cavalry at the Somme crossings. But in a few days, by using the railroad to Amiens, the Allies were able to get around his extreme right and, turning east, strike for Péronne and St. Quentin.

In such a thrust there was for Von Kluck a peril as deadly as that which his own enveloping movement had for the Allies. The railways on which he depended for reinforcement and supply came south from Belgium at the very west end of his line. The Paris-Cologne line, the most important of all, was nearest the enemy. Could the Allied flanking force commanded by General D'Amade, of Moroccan fame, cut this line, push east a little and cut the Laon-Maubeuge line, his position in the Champagne Hills would become untenable; he would be in danger of being enveloped, thrown back upon Von Buelow, defeated, perhaps captured.

On September 18, moreover, the Allies did penetrate to St. Quentin, having taken Péronne, while their cavalry actually cut the Paris-Cologne line east of Roisel and Le Catelet. It was at this moment that a news dispatch from London announced the surrender of Von Kluck, and the French Minister of War forecast the prompt withdrawal of the Germans from France.

Neither surrender nor withdrawal was in Von Kluck's mind. On the contrary, he had already prepared a counter-thrust. Gathering up all available troops from the center and left, calling in a portion of the army in Lorraine and transporting it hurriedly over the Calais-Basel railway, which crossed the rear of the whole German position, he speedily drove the Allies out of St. Quentin, out of Péronne, half-way back to Amiens. At the same moment he launched another attack at the Allied position south of Noyon and drove his enemies out of their lines, retook Lassigny, Roye, Chaulnes, and put his assailants on the defensive all along the line.

By a marvelous utilization of interior lines of communication, Von Kluck had blocked the first drive at his right. When the attack was renewed from the north toward Cambrai and from Albert and Bapaume, he met it with new troops, threw it back again. A third time the Allies tried, moving east from Arras to Douai, but a third time they were repulsed and,—because north of this point the railways on which the Germans depended turned east,—the drive by the left flank was blocked.

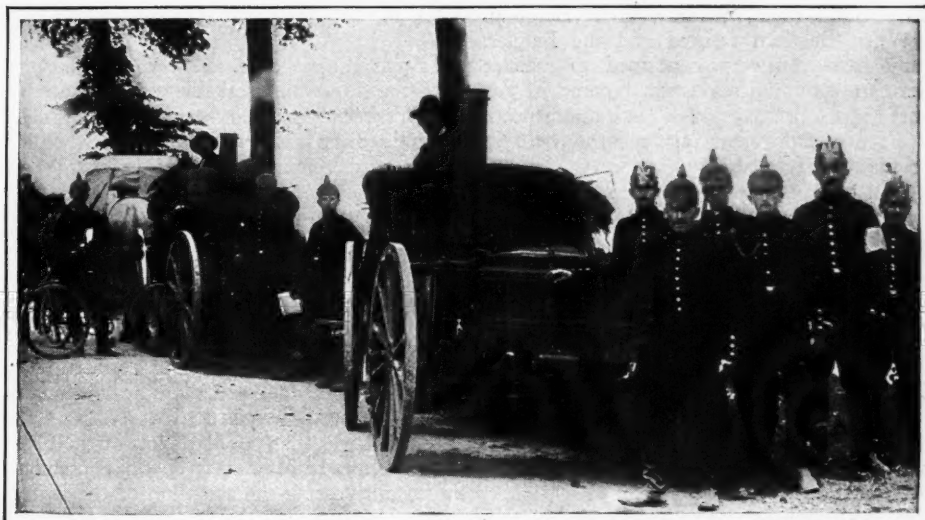
By this operation the whole battle-line had been transformed. To the straight line going east from Noyon to the Moselle, there was now joined a second line, perpendicular to the first from Arras to Noyon, and behind this line the Allies were still moving north toward Belgium. Meantime the character of the operations in the west had also changed. Already, in the last days of September, a German attack upon Antwerp was breaking out, and Allied strategy was concerned no longer with a drive at the German right, but with a move to succor Belgium, now in her last ditch.

For the third time the German defensive had prevailed. The German right had not been routed, it had not been driven down the slopes of the Champagne Hills, it had not been turned out of its position. It was, in fact, already venturing to assume the offensive in the east and the south.

V. BETWEEN THE MEUSE AND THE MOSELLE

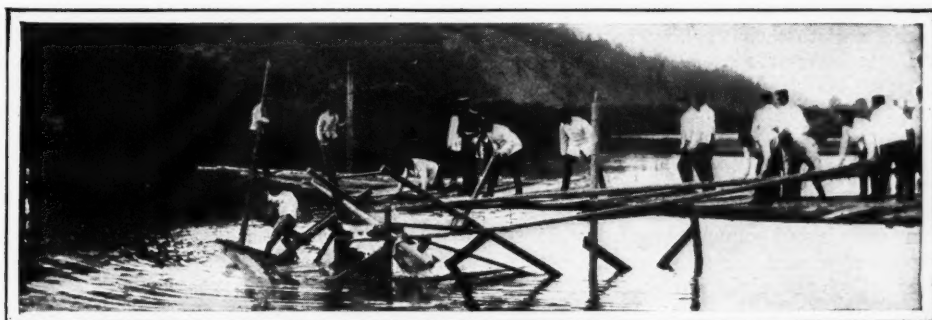
On September 19, while the Allies' thrust at the German right was occupying the attention of the world, official announcement was made from Berlin of the capture of the French works at Beaumont, north of Toul and south of Verdun; that is, squarely on the line of the eastern barrier forts. Accepted at first as a counter demonstration to compel the Allies to divert troops from their flanking operations, this German offensive venture presently claimed close attention and assumed serious proportions.

This drive at the eastern defenses was, in fact, the final effort to open a short road directly from northern France into Germany. In their first plan the Germans had contemplated moving unopposed through Belgium, driving the French forces south of the Marne and then enveloping the barrier forts, reducing them and thus gaining possession of the Paris-Metz and Paris-Strassburg railways.



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TRAVELING KITCHEN OF THE GERMAN ARMY



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A GERMAN SAPPER SQUAD BUILDING A BRIDGE



A "SPLINTER PROOF," SUCH AS OCCURS AT INTERVALS IN THE GERMAN TRENCHES

They could then withdraw from Belgium.

When Belgium resisted and the Belgian army from Antwerp continued to menace German communications, it became of utmost importance to open this eastern entrance to France and release army corps, held in Belgium to cover communications.

Thus during the advance to the Marne the Army of the Crown Prince, coming south along the Argonne, had endeavored to envelop the Toul-Verdun line from the north and west, while the Bavarian Army, under the eyes of the Kaiser himself, had fought to capture Nancy, sweep around the barrier from the south and join hands with the Crown Prince. But the Bavarian Army had been thrown back with terrible loss, and the Crown Prince, after minor repulses, had been involved in the general German retirement after the Battle of the Marne.

When German lines had been reestablished, this time along the Aisne, when the Allies' frontal attack had been beaten down and the mass of Allied reserves were diverted to the west to their flanking venture, a second attack was made on the eastern barrier forts. This time it was limited to an attempt to envelop Verdun and open the Paris-Metz railroad.

The attack upon Beaumont was the first step in this operation. The only good road from the Meuse to the Moselle, between Verdun and Toul, came west from Pont-à-Mousson, pierced the hills between the two river valleys at their lowest point and reached the Meuse at Commercy. Following this road, the Germans steadily advanced, captured St. Mihiel on the Meuse and stormed Fort Camp des Romains, one of the barrier forts, thus making a breach in this line. Finally they crossed the Meuse at St. Mihiel. But here they were checked, ultimately thrown back across the river. To the north the Crown Prince was also repulsed.

With the Allies' left mounting steadily to Belgium, aiming to join hands with the Belgians along the Scheldt to Antwerp and threaten German communications, and after the failure of the second attempt to open a short road from Germany to France, it now became clear that German strategy must deal with Antwerp, must complete the conquest of Belgium, establish German communications before Belgian, British, and French troops were united on their flank and in their rear. The progress of the Allies in the west, the repulse of the Germans in the east,—these things precipitated the Belgian campaign.

VI. THE FATE OF BELGIUM

It was the siege of Antwerp which supplied the single unmistakable circumstance of the October fighting and on the human side the only dramatic incident in a war which had now become a bewildering tangle of operations obscure to the observer and without apparent result. From the attack on Liège to the Battle of the Aisne the world had looked eagerly for a Sedan or a Waterloo, for some gigantic struggle which should add one more to the "decisive battles of the world," and foreshadow the ultimate outcome of the Great War. But now in early October it was plain that the time for Sedans and Waterloos was passing.

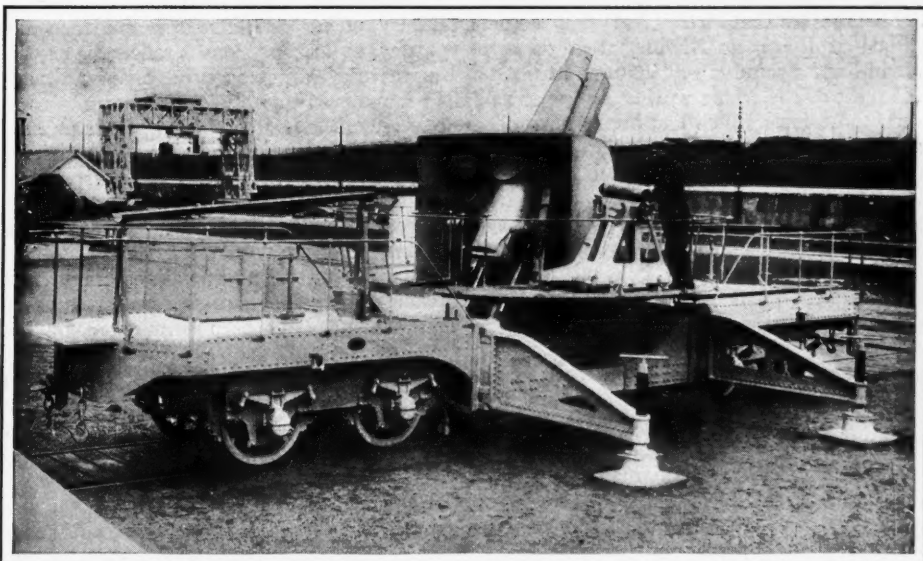
Thus it was that the first shots of the German cannon before Antwerp on September 29 instantly drew the attention of the world to an action which was easily comprehensible, and already promised to be promptly decisive. More than this, there was in the final stand of Belgian patriotism an appeal to American admiration, lacking in all else in a war between rival cultures, ambitions, races. For a nation whose own history began at Lexington, the resistance of the weak to the strong, the defense of liberty by the few against the many at the cost of life, of all that men could hold dear, was a moving spectacle. For Americans there was bound to be in the final tragedy of the Belgians a claim on sympathy. Already to the neutral eyes beyond the Atlantic the Belgian resistance had taken on the character of that of Holland to Spain, of the Greeks to the Persians.

On the military side the German attack upon Antwerp was easily explicable. German attempts to force a short road into Northern France had failed. West of the Oise and the Scheldt the Allied advance was pushing north toward Antwerp. If the Allies and the Belgians should join hands, German hold on Belgium would be precarious, for Antwerp was now like the citadel of a captured fortress, which still held out. From it the defenders could issue and strike at the German lines of communication, while, in case it became necessary to retire from France, there would be available no defensive position west of Liège,—that is, at the very gate and the one unprotected gate to Western Germany.

Already Belgian resistance had contributed seriously to the defeat of German strategy. In the days when every German soldier was needed in France, army corps had to be kept



A TYPICAL HEAVY MODERN FIELD GUN NOW IN USE AMONG THE EUROPEAN ARMIES



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AN EIGHT-INCH PROTECTED HOWITZER, MOUNTED ON A SPECIAL RAILROAD CAR

(This novel piece of French artillery is easily and quickly transported, and is fired without leaving the tracks)

before Antwerp to protect the German lines of communication. The Belgian fight had taken on the character of that of Spain against Napoleon, in the days when the French Emperor was fighting for his life in Eastern Germany. As Spanish resistance held thousands of his troops on the Peninsula, the Belgian conflicts had weakened German armies. Moreover in the character of the Belgian resistance, in the participation in it of women and children, there was plain suggestion of the story of Saragossa.

To rid themselves of an intolerable burden, to carry their right flank to the sea and protect it from all further turning move-

ments, to solidify their position in Belgium and establish their communications beyond attack, above all to prepare for a new offensive drive into France, it was now necessary to take Antwerp, to have done with King Albert's gallant army. Such was the strategy of the German siege of the Belgian seagate.

VII. THE FALL OF ANTWERP

In all military history of the future the capture of Antwerp must necessarily be a landmark. Here, briefly, terribly, the superiority of the gun over the fort, of the me-

chanic over the engineer, was demonstrated. Aside from Paris, there was no city so strongly fortified as Antwerp. Unlike Paris, its position on the neutralized Scheldt and near the Dutch frontier prevented complete investment. Along its southern front, ten miles distant, the Nethe flowed through deep marshes, forming a natural moat, strengthened by forts once held impregnable.

Before these forts, in trenches long ago prepared, stood the whole Belgian field army, presently reinforced by British marines. All that the art of the engineer, all that the courage of brave men fighting with their backs to the wall could contribute to making a fortress impregnable, were to be found in the ancient Flemish city.

Yet before the German artillery Antwerp's defenses crumbled with incredible rapidity. What the 42-centimetre gun had accomplished at Liège, at Namur, at Maubeuge, but hitherto behind a veil, it now did in the full sight of the whole world. In less than a week those forts which had been pronounced impregnable were heaps of dust and ashes and German troops had forced the river defenses, the field trenches, driving the Belgians before them. By October 7 the Krupp shells were falling about the noble tower of the Antwerp cathedral. The city and the suburbs were breaking out in flames. The end was in sight.

The next day the field army of Belgium, commanded by its still undaunted King, crossed the Scheldt on pontoons, moved west along the Dutch frontier, accompanied by the British contingent, made good its escape to join the Allied armies, still moving up from the south, but all too late. Meanwhile, by every ship, train, road, thousands of refugees fleeing from the shells that were falling in Antwerp, flowed out to Holland, to England, to France. A new migration of a people had begun.

The end came on October 9, when the city surrendered, the remaining Belgian forces escaping to Holland and there laying down the arms they had wielded so valiantly. Not a city, but a nation, had fallen. For England only less than for Belgium, the fall of Antwerp had been a terrible blow. The "pistol pointed at the heart of England," as Napoleon had described the city, was now in the hands of William II.

With the fall of Antwerp and that of Ostend, which promptly followed on October 15, British public opinion at last recognized that a new Napoleonic war, with the same issues and many of the same circumstances,

was before them. From Ostend British observers already foretold the launching of German submarines and German Zeppelins. A new Napoleon had reached the Channel. Once more it was for the British people to watch the narrow strip of sea as they had a century before. But now it was necessary also to watch the skies, for that new engine which had added so much to the terror of war.

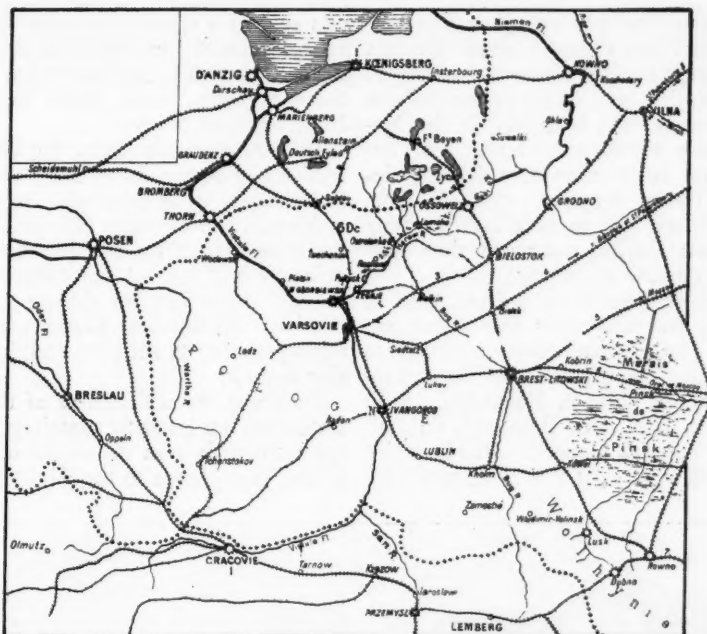
VIII. ON THE VISTULA

While the German Defensive in the west was reforming broken lines and preparing new plans, a fresh and tremendous problem confronted it on the east. German strategy had contemplated the destruction of French military power in six weeks and then the transfer of armies from France to Russia. But at the Marne the drive against France had failed. Meanwhile Russian armies were up, were crushing the military power of Austria, were moving toward East Prussia, Silesia, and Posen. It was necessary, then, before the offensive in the West could be resumed to halt Russian advance toward Berlin.

Russian offensive operations had first broken out in East Prussia, had swept over that province and been terminated by the rout at Tannenberg. Thereafter, the right wing of the whole Russian forces had been steadily driven east, out of Prussia, far into Russian territory until in the last week of September they stood behind the Niemen, resisted German attacks, presently took the offensive, won the Battle of Augustovo, and reached the Prussian frontier again about October 10, where they were solidly checked, held as firmly as the Allies along the Aisne.

Meantime the Russian left, far down along the Carpathians, had all through September continued its victorious advance, capturing Jaroslav, passing the San, and investing Przemyśl. By October 1 it was before Tarnow, less than fifty miles from Cracow, still driving the remnants of Austrian armies before it, while Cossack raiding parties had crowned the Carpathians and swept down into the Hungarian Plain, spreading ruin and panic.

At this moment, from their bases at Breslau and Posen, the Germans launched a terrific offensive blow against the Russian centers. Swiftly this new force drove the Russians before it until they halted far back in Poland, before Warsaw and behind the Vis-



FIELD OF THE BATTLE OF THE VISTULA - EASTERN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA AND WESTERN RUSSIA

(On this map, from a French source, "Warsaw" appears as *Varsovie* and "Cracow" as *Cracovie*)

tula southward to Ivangorod; that is, along the first line of permanent defenses in Poland. Here, in the second week of October, began the conflict still continuing on October 20 and already known as the Battle of the Vistula.

As an immediate consequence of the retreat of the Russian center, the Russian left had to retire, abandon its drive toward Cracow, relinquish territory conquered. At last there was time for the Austrian armies to rally, to reform, and, strengthened by German corps, to take the offensive and rush to the aid of Przemysl, still resisting gallantly. Thus by one blow the German Offensive had driven Russian armies to the Vistula, saved Austrian forces, beaten down and put wholly on the defensive the troops which a few weeks before had begun the march on Berlin.

It was wholly possible, and on October 20 believed probable, that having checked Russian advance, Germany would now transport a part of her eastern armies to the western field for a new drive at Paris, leaving to her reduced forces in Poland the task of holding back Russian advance, now condemned to move over war-wasted lands in which winter had already begun. For the moment, at least, Germany seemed freed from anxieties

on the east. While she had successfully met the Allied Offensive in France and halted it, she had disposed of the Russian menace temporarily and completed the conquest of Belgium.

IX. A RETURN TO THE OFFENSIVE?

By October 1 the Allied thrust at the German right in France had failed. An effort to extend the Allied left toward Antwerp in the next few days was halted at Lille, while the fall of Antwerp on October 9 removed all hope of immediate rescue of Belgium. It remained to the Allies, now joined by the Belgian Army, which had escaped from Antwerp, and the British, who had evacuated Ostend, to establish their flank on the sea.

On October 15 the Germans took Ostend. Henceforth their right was safe from outflanking movements. Two days later the Allies announced that they, too, had touched the Channel north of Dunkirk. Once more, then, the battle-lines were restored on both sides from Switzerland to the Channel. Frontal, not flank, operations were now inevitable.

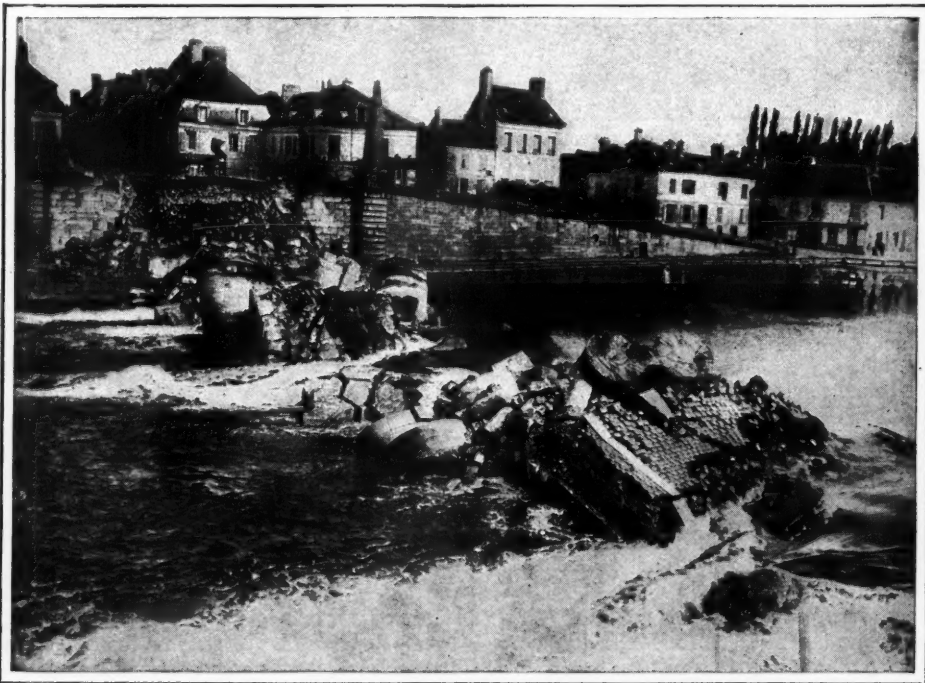
At the same time it became plain that Berlin, London, Paris, expected a new German advance, by the right flank, and effort to break the Allied left, where it touched the sea, to isolate and take Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne. Ready rumor alleged that the Germans had yet larger cannon, which they intended to mount on the very cliffs from which Napoleon had so long looked vainly out upon the English coast and thus command this narrow waterway.

When these lines were written, late in October, it was also clear that there was expected a new German offensive movement along the coast, toward Paris, an effort to repeat the August drive in November. Such an operation, by Calais, Bernhardt tells us, the great Frederick planned. But he relied upon British ships. At this time, too, there

was evident a tremendous effort on the part of the Allies to concentrate in this corner of France, to hold the line from Dunkirk, through Ypres, Lens, Arras to the Aisne front south of Noyon.

In sum, after five weeks, the German Defensive had beaten down every effort of Allied strategy to drive or turn its armies out of France, and to succor Belgium. It had at the same time in the east put Russia on the defensive and rescued and restored Austrian military power, earlier threatened with extinction. All this done, German strategy was again planning to act offensively and seemed able to do it.

Such was the achievement of the German Defensive, less instantly appealing, but hardly less memorable than the earlier offensive operation from Liège to the Marne.



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A BRIDGE OVER THE OISE RIVER AT SENLIS DESTROYED IN THE BOMBARDMENT OF THE TOWN

THE EUROPEAN FOOD SITUATION

BY T. N. CARVER

(In Collaboration with Other Officers of the United States Department of Agriculture)

[Professor Carver, of Harvard University, is one of the foremost of American political economists, and is connected with the Department of Agriculture at Washington as "Adviser in Agricultural Economics." He has been especially occupied with creating, under the present administration, the Bureau of "Markets and Rural Organization."—THE EDITOR.]

SINCE the world awoke to find that war was not only a possibility but actually going on, we have not heard much of the naïve assertion that the great bankers could prevent war by refusing to finance it. That was very much like saying that the owners of any other kind of property, say horses, or hay, could prevent war by refusing to let the government have it. Now that it has been demonstrated that a government at war can get anything which exists within its reach, the discussion has turned to the question as to whether the necessary supplies exist or not. Obviously that is another matter. Even a military autocracy can not get supplies which do not physically exist within its reach. Compared with this problem, even that of financing the war, that is, of keeping the war chest full of the means of buying supplies and paying other expenses, is of minor importance.

The question of food, not only for the armies, but for the non-fighting population as well, we will admit to be of equal importance with that of men or ammunition. But it must be borne in mind that the question of food is not a question of living as well in time of war as in time of peace. It is rather a question of finding the basic necessities of life. A people who would prefer to be whipped rather than undergo a change of diet or give up luxuries will probably get what it prefers. It is therefore important that we study the available supplies of these basic necessities before jumping to the conclusion that any of the warring countries can be starved into submission.

The following tables, based upon statistics published in the "Yearbook" of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1913, show the normal production of the leading agricultural products in time of peace.

PRODUCTION IN 1913									
	WHEAT AND RYE		POTATOES (1912)		BARLEY, OATS AND MAIZE				
	Total Bushels in even Thousands	Bushels per Capita	Total Bushels in even Thousands	Bushels per Capita	Total Bushels in even Thousands	Bushels per Capita			
UNITED KINGDOM—									
Wheat	58,436	1.29	213,783	4.73	Barley	67,727	1.49		
Rye	1,750	.04			Oats	181,126	4.00		
Total	60,186	1.33			Maize		
FRANCE—					Total	248,853	5.49		
Wheat	321,571	8.12	552,074	13.94	Barley	48,370	1.22		
Rye	52,677	1.33			Oats	322,131	8.13		
Total	374,248	9.45			Maize	22,000	.55		
RUSSIA—					Total	392,501	9.90		
Wheat	1,058,867	6.34	1,395,630	8.35	Barley	574,118	3.44		
Rye	1,002,468	6.00			Oats	1,135,748	6.79		
Total	2,061,335	12.34			Maize	72,870	.44		
GERMANY—					Total	1,782,736	10.67		
Wheat	171,075	2.63	1,844,863	28.40	Barley	188,709	2.90		
Rye	481,169	7.41			Oats	669,231	10.30		
Total	652,244	10.04			Maize		
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—					Total	857,940	13.20		
Wheat	232,207	4.54	683,779	13.31	Barley	162,609	3.17		
Rye	164,535	3.20			Oats	272,042	5.29		
Total	396,742	7.73			Maize	226,908	4.41		
					Total	661,559	12.87		

Wheat and rye are combined in the first column because these two grains furnish the standard breadstuff of all the countries involved. It would be a mistake to take wheat alone because rye is very largely consumed in both Germany and Russia. In fact, as shown in the table, both these countries produce more rye than wheat. Eight bushels per head is a liberal allowance in time of peace. If the same rate of production can be maintained in time of war, England is the only country which could be starved out, so far as bread is concerned, even by a blockade.

VALUE OF POTATOES

Potatoes furnish an important supplementary supply of starchy food. Because of their bulk they may not be available for the armies in the field, but there is no reason why the non-fighting population should not in time of war use them in increasing quantities as substitutes for bread. Germany, it will be observed, is, in normal times, well supplied with potatoes.¹ They are largely used, it is true, in the manufacture of alcohol. This could easily be suspended, in part at least, in time of war, if necessity demanded it, unless, indeed, necessity also demanded increasing quantities of alcohol as a substitute for gasoline in the running of her numerous internal-combustion engines. Austria and France are also fairly well supplied. Since Germany and Austria are the only countries which are likely to have any difficulty in getting supplies from the outside, peculiar interest attaches to their ability to support themselves. So far as starchy foods are concerned, it does not look as though they would suffer, unless, indeed, they should not be able to produce as much in time of war as in time of peace. That will be discussed later.

THE FOOD OF ANIMALS

Corn, oats, and barley are used as human food only to a slight extent by the countries involved. Corn is used somewhat in Hungary, southern Russia, and to a very limited amount in southern France; while some use is made of oatmeal in Great Britain. Barley is used largely in the manufacture of beer, but this can hardly be called a basic necessary of life. The chief use of these three grains is for feeding animals. This is an important matter because it means the support of artillery and cavalry horses, as well as work horses on farms, and the ani-

¹ Yet even with this enormous production, the excess of her imports over her exports of potatoes was 11,088,000 hundred weight, about two-thirds of which came from the Netherlands and the other one-third from Russia.

mals which supply the various forms of animal food.

TABLE II¹ (SEE PAGE 578.)

NEAT CATTLE, SHEEP AND PIGS			HORSES	
	Number of Animals	Ratio to Population	Number	Ratio to Population
UNITED KINGDOM—				
Cattle	11,936,600	1: 3.78	1,874,264	1:24.1
Pigs	3,305,771	1:13.6		
Sheep	27,629,206	1: 1.63		
Total				
Bovine units	18,564,365	1: 2.43		
FRANCE—				
Cattle	14,705,900	1: 2.6	3,230,700	1:12.2
Pigs	7,047,750	1: 5.61		
Sheep	16,213,030	1: 2.17		
Total				
Bovine units	20,297,755	1: 1.95		
RUSSIA—				
Cattle	48,906,582	1: 3.41	32,636,732	1: 5.08
Pigs	13,714,985	1:12.17		
Sheep	77,341,393	1: 2.16		
Total				
Bovine units	68,946,489	1: 2.42		
GERMANY—				
Cattle	20,944,258	1: 3.21	4,523,059	1:14.57
Pigs	25,591,794	1: 2.53		
Sheep	5,504,195	1:11.8		
Total				
Bovine units	30,575,695	1: 2.12		
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—				
Cattle	16,478,099	1: 3	4,153,495	1:11.90
Pigs	14,010,770	1: 3.52		
Sheep	10,975,143	1: 4.5		
Total				
Bovine units	23,343,385	1: 2.11		

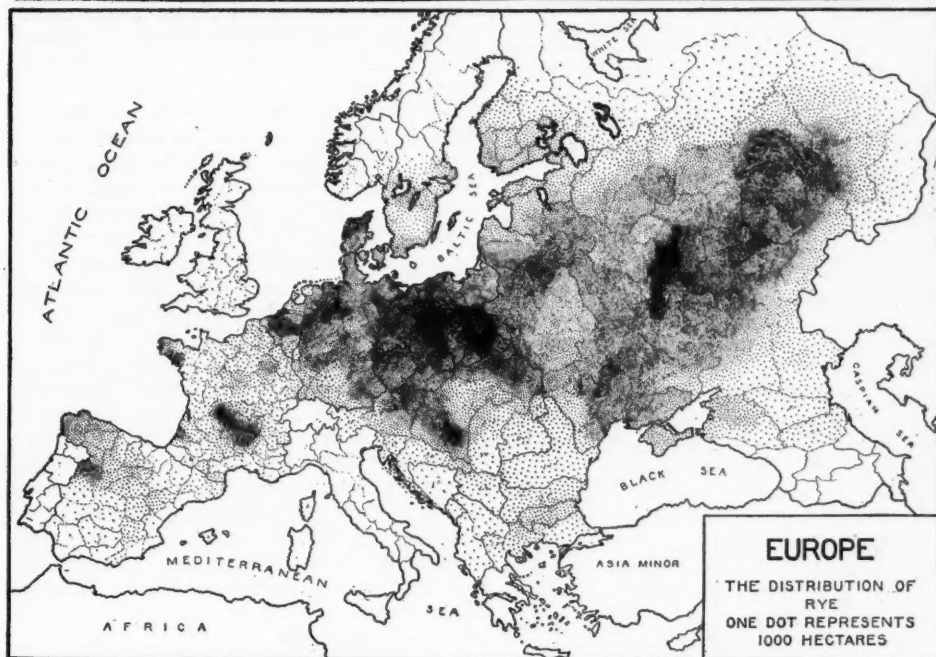
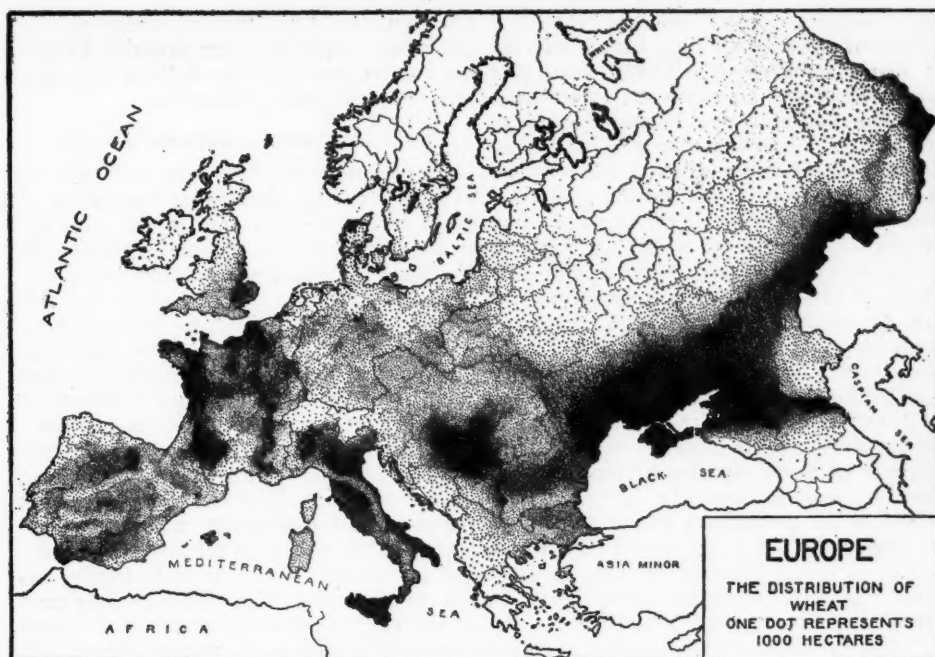
¹ The figures for the United Kingdom 1911, European Russia 1912, Asiatic Russia 1909, Austria 1910, Hungary 1911, are as given in the Statistical Abstract for Foreign Countries, 38th number, 1900-1901 British Accounts and Papers.

The figures for France, 1912, and Germany, 1913, are from the Bulletins of the International Institute of Agriculture.

More direct interest attaches to the numbers of the animals themselves. Those which furnish animal food in northern Europe are, in the order of their importance, cattle, hogs, and sheep. In order to form an idea as to the food supply furnished by these three types of animals, it is necessary to reduce them to common units, which we shall call bovine units, that is, we must reduce hogs and sheep to cattle. This can only be done by a more or less arbitrary assumption as to the relative sizes of the different animals. Assuming that an average animal of the class designated as neat cattle is equal to three hogs, or five sheep, we get an approximate estimate as to the relative supplies of the various countries, in terms of bovine units. This does not take account of the relative supplies of milk, butter and cheese, which are important parts of the food supply of the non-fighting populations. However, the number of milch cows bears a fairly constant ratio to the total number of neat cattle.

EUROPE'S HORSE SUPPLY

As to horses, though they are negligible as parts of the food supply, they are, besides



The maps on this page belong to a series which have just now been worked out for the Department of Agriculture. Several others in the same series will be found on later pages of the present article. The top map shows by shading the density of wheat production in different areas. The lower map shows rye production. France, Italy, the Hungarian plain, and southern Russia are very heavy wheat producers. A glance shows how much heavier the production of rye in Germany is than that of wheat. It is also seen that rye is the great crop of the people of central Russia. Oats and barley are widely diffused throughout Europe. Oats, however, being produced in areas lying much farther north, on the average, than barley. Thus northern France, Germany, the northern Baltic coasts, and central and northern Russia raise great quantities of oats.

being important farm products, the chief sources of power, aside from human muscles, in doing farm work. Though oxen are largely used, they are much less numerous as well as less efficient, than horses. Horses are also of the utmost importance in war, since no good substitutes have been found for them as cavalry mounts or for moving field artillery. An examination of the fourth column in this table will show a distinct weakness on the part of Germany and Austria in their supply of horseflesh. This is one farm product of which war is always peculiarly wasteful. But of this more later. France is somewhat better supplied, besides having a wider foreign field from which to draw as well as being a breeder of horses, while Russia is abundantly supplied, being a great exporter of horses in time of peace. England is very inadequately supplied from within so far as numbers go, but so long as she can control the sea she has the whole world, including her own colonies, to draw upon. In fact she exports many horses as breeding stock to various countries.

FOOD PRODUCTION IN WAR TIME

The next question to arise is, Can each of the countries involved maintain in time of war the normal rate of production? There is, at present, no sufficient reason for doubting it. Much depends, of course, upon where and how the fighting occurs. If any of the countries should be overrun by invading armies which sweep across wide areas, destroying crops as they go, after the manner of Sherman's March to the Sea, it would upset all calculations. Barring such contingencies, there is no very good reason for supposing that any country at war will permit its supplies of the necessities of life to run short if it is possible to prevent it. It would be as great a blunder to allow the food supply as to allow the supply of ammunition to fail. We can expect, therefore, that nothing short of physical impossibility will stand in the way of production.

The ordinary campaign, which is not definitely planned to destroy crops over wide areas, is not to be considered as of more than local importance in reducing production. It is to be classed along with hail, winds, and floods, which occur every year over areas which seem large in themselves but are a small fraction of the total producing area. A glance at the accompanying maps, showing the areas of agricultural production, will convince anyone that the campaigns thus far have touched only a

small fraction of the total producing area of any crop. Sugar beets are probably hardest hit because much of the fighting has been in a region of dense production.

NO REAL LABOR SHORTAGE AS YET

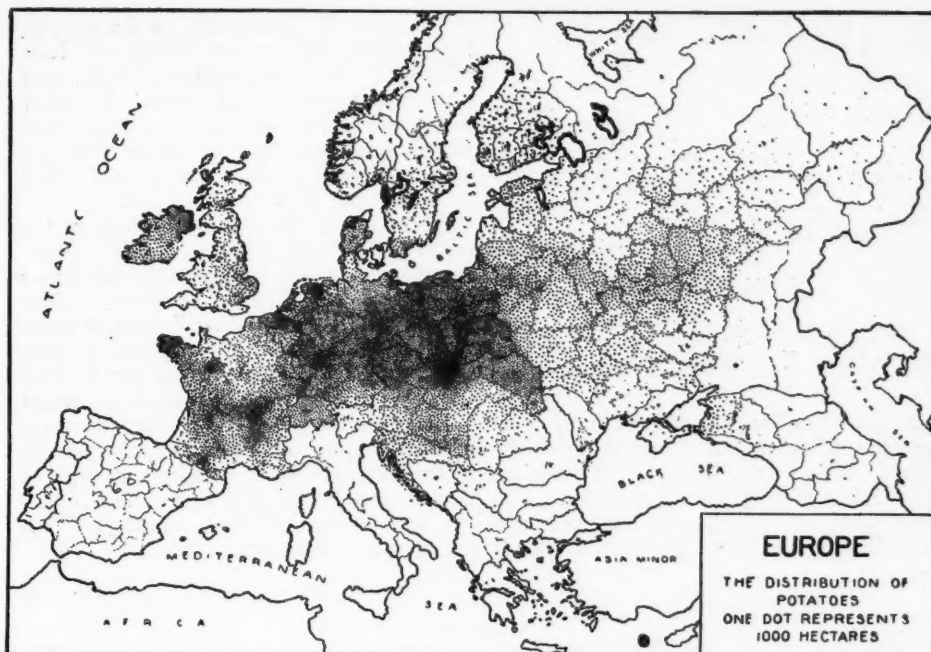
The expectation that men will not be available for the planting or harvesting of crops will come true only in the most extreme cases where a country is making its last stand in defense of its national existence. If each country puts her entire available fighting force in the field, she will still have left her women and her old men and boys. As a matter of fact, all reports indicate that there is a surplus rather than a dearth of labor. That is, men are out of employment. This would naturally follow from the closing of factories which are not producing basic necessities. The fact that the peasant women in all continental countries are accustomed to working in the fields is of genuine importance here. It will involve no change of custom and no shock to their sense of propriety if increasing numbers of women should help with farm work. Mr. N. C. Murray, of the United States Department of Agriculture, is authority for the statement that agricultural production in the Balkan states was not much affected during their war.

As to the old men and boys, we may be very sure that if they have to be withdrawn from any industries it will be from those which are not necessary to national existence. That is, they will be withdrawn from those which produce luxuries rather than necessities. In other words, the consumers will give up luxuries. The people who are unwilling to do this will probably be the first to sue for peace. That this abandonment of luxuries is already taking place is evidenced by the fact that many indoor industries are shut down, creating a surplus of laborers available for the outdoor industries.

Another factor to be considered is that Germany, Austria, and Russia produce more than two-thirds of the beet sugar, and almost one-third of all the sugar, both cane and beet, of the world. Both Germany and Austria are heavy exporters of sugar. In case their exports are cut off, and their imports of other foodstuffs as well, they will undoubtedly devote a part of this land, and it is the most fertile land in each empire, to growing crops for home consumption.

ECONOMIZING LABOR BY MACHINERY

Farm machinery is a means of saving labor. That is, it takes less labor to make a



This potato map shows the principal areas of a crop that is of great importance to the people of Europe. Germany is seen to be far better supplied with potatoes than any other country. Potatoes are not much grown in southern Europe, and for several countries the dots are not filled into this map.

machine and then use it than it does to grow crops without it. None of these European countries has ever shown any lack of ingenuity in the designing or making of machinery, where it was economical to use it, and yet they do not use much farm machinery. Where labor is abundant and cheap, there is no strong reason for economizing it. When it becomes scarce and dear, there is a strong reason. If the war makes farm labor scarce, there is no reason for fearing that the inventors could not find ways of economizing it through superior tools and machinery. But here the horse question arises again. Except on a few large farms, no other source of power for field work has been found except, of course, oxen, which are not very efficient in drawing machines. If the army absorbs a large share of the horses, the scarcity of power will prevent the large use of machines.

FARM MACHINERY IN OUR CIVIL WAR

How many of us realize how rapidly farm machinery spread throughout the North during our Civil War? The reaper, mower, thresher, corn planter and cultivator were all in use before 1860, but they multiplied more during the next five years than during

the whole preceding period. One result was that agricultural production in the North increased every year of that war. In the state of Indiana, to take a single example, the wheat crop increased from fifteen million bushels in 1859 to twenty millions in 1863, in spite of the fact that, during the latter year, one in every ten of her male population was in the army. But the North had an abundant supply of horses and they were relatively cheap. It was merely a matter of finding ways of substituting horse power, which was abundant, for man power, which was scarce. If horse power becomes as scarce in Europe as man power, it is difficult to see what else can be substituted.

FOOD VALUES OF THE VARIOUS CROPS

The possibility of readjusting the standard of living in time of war has already been mentioned. This could be done in such a way as to gain more subsistence from a given acreage of land, by substituting heavy-yielding for light-yielding crops; or in such a way as to gain more subsistence from a given expenditure of labor, by substituting crops which require little care for those which require much care. The following table shows the relative productivity per acre of different

crops in terms of food values as well as in terms of bulk:

	Food value per pound (calories)	Pounds per acre (good European yield)	Calories per acre	Ratio to wheat as basis. Fractions omitted
Entire wheat flour..1660		1800	2,988,000	100%
Rye meal or flour..1630		1800	2,934,000	98%
Beans	1590	2400	3,816,000	129%
Potatoes	325	24000	7,800,000	260%
Maize or corn meal..1550		3600	5,580,000	186%
Oat meal.....1860		1800	3,348,000	112%
Beef	1130	200	226,000	7%
Mutton	1275	250	318,750	11%
Milk	325	4000	1,300,000	43%

¹ Figures in this column are taken from Bulletin 28, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations, by W. O. Atwater, Ph.D., and Charles D. Woods, B. S. (Government Printing Office, 1896).

In discussing food values in ordinary times there are, of course, other factors to be considered besides the number of calories. Digestibility and appetizing qualities are of great value, to say nothing of bone and muscle-building ingredients. But there is enough

in this table to show that, on the acreage basis, wheat and rye are among the least efficient of the starch-yielding crops, and beef among the animal foods. In other words, the dairy cow furnishes more food per acre for pasturage or forage than the beef cow, and potatoes, maize, and beans more per acre than wheat or rye.

There are no figures available as to the yields of these various crops per unit of labor, but apparently there is a surplus rather than a dearth of labor. The power of one of these nations to feed itself is not limited so much by a scarcity of labor as by a scarcity of land. Land rather than labor being the limiting factor, it is, for the time, more important to increase the product per acre than the product per unit of labor. In other words, if any substitution is necessary, it will be that of crops which yield a great deal of food per acre in place of those which yield less per acre and more per man.

TABLE IV
IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF VARIOUS PRODUCTS FOR SEVEN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES,
1910-1912

[In even thousands. Blanks represent either 0, or figures of small importance.]

Importing or exporting country	IMPORTS			EXPORTS			NET IMPORTS	NET EXPORTS
	1910	1911	1912	1910	1911	1912	1912	1912
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—								
¹ Wheat, bu.....				684	566	806		806
Maize, bu.....	2,494	7,886	29,108	1,069	156	88	29,070	
Sugar, lbs.....				1,486,612	1,334,958	1,540,900		1,540,900
Butter, lbs.....				4,379	4,513	3,853		3,853
Cheese, lbs.....	12,537	12,473	12,797				12,797	
BELGIUM—								
¹ Wheat, bu.....	75,351	82,405	71,261	26,129	26,099	19,870	51,391	
Maize, bu.....	25,036	24,814	32,021	7,582	8,846	10,999	21,022	
Sugar, lbs.....				265,265	360,159	348,081		348,081
Butter, lbs.....	12,496	15,161	15,225	3,509	3,345	2,625	12,600	
Cheese, lbs.....	31,495	29,642	31,352				31,352	
FRANCE—								
¹ Wheat, bu.....	23,960	79,695	26,698				26,698	
Maize, bu.....	15,355	19,742	23,951				23,951	
Sugar, lbs.....	312,617	385,093	672,273	423,072	293,732	373,858	298,415	
Butter, lbs.....	10,665	19,939	14,179	48,428	28,221	37,572		23,393
Cheese, lbs.....	49,011	49,423	47,558	25,161	24,041	27,690	19,868	
GERMANY—								
¹ Wheat, bu.....	86,868	92,204	85,218	19,957	19,581	20,510	64,708	
Maize, bu.....	22,563	29,267	44,973				44,973	
Sugar, lbs.....				1,543,202	1,890,046	953,743		953,743
Butter, lbs.....	92,816	123,619	122,472	399	555	482	121,990	
Cheese, lbs.....	46,011	45,954	47,277	1,858	2,179	1,812	45,465	
RUSSIA—								
¹ Wheat, bu.....				231,113	150,875	100,498		100,498
Maize, bu.....	181	339	182	17,686	52,759	30,255		30,073
Sugar, lbs.....				328,232	1,000,127	830,089		830,089
Butter, lbs.....	1,975	1,808	1,156	124,366	168,704	159,763		158,607
Cheese, lbs.....	3,671	4,009	3,669	5,464	8,945	8,945		5,276
SERVIA—								
¹ Wheat, bu.....				3,181	3,727	3,727		3,727
Maize, bu.....				6,695	4,627	4,627		4,627
Sugar, lbs.....								
Butter, lbs.....								
Cheese, lbs.....								
UNITED KINGDOM—								
¹ Wheat, bu.....	221,232	207,919	229,160				229,160	
Maize, bu.....	73,487	77,449	88,166				88,166	
Sugar, lbs.....	3,587,889	3,718,860	3,693,670	70,256	64,011	67,013	3,626,657	
Butter, lbs.....	476,806	466,720	435,247				435,247	
Cheese, lbs.....	267,878	257,134	250,823				250,823	

¹ Including flour. a Year preceding.

TABLE V
For 1913
1,000 Bushels
From Bulletin of the International Institute of Agriculture,
February, 1914

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Maize
England	—197,297	—	50,158	—52,250	—98,107
France	—56,971	—1,826	4,676	—33,157	—23,507
Russia	+121,681	+24,182	+169,239	+34,407	+20,005
Germany	+73,718	+22,839	+142,236	+8,635	—38,231
Austria	—629	—261	+7,505	—574	—25,734
Excess of Imports	—	—	—	—	—
Excess of Exports	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE VI
Relation of Imports to Total Supply of Grains (Imports
and Domestic Production) for 1913

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Maize
England	77.5%	—	43.5%	24.6%	100%
France	15.0%	3.5%	8.8%	9.7%	100%
Russia	Exports	Exports	Exports	Exports	Exports
Germany	29.8%	Exports	51.4%	Exports	Exports
Austria	Fraction of 1%	Fraction of 1%	Exports	Fraction of 1%	9.9%

TABLE VII
HORSES

	Imports 1911	Exports 1911	Excess of Imports over Exports	Excess of Exports over Imports
United Kingdom	11,528	64,196		52,668
Russia		91,500		91,500
France (figures not available)				
Austria	7,947	38,866		30,919
Germany	135,072	1,927	133,145	
From				
Russia	56,867			
Denmark	26,230			
Belgium	22,267			
Netherlands	11,826			
Austria	6,284			
France	5,338			

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

Next in importance to the question of being self-supporting in the matter of agricultural products is the question of being able to get them from abroad. The accompanying Table IV shows the quantities of the chief agricultural products which are annually imported into and exported from the warring nations, while Table VII shows the situation as to the sources of the supply of horses.

WHERE WILL GERMANY GET HORSES?

The striking fact brought out by Tables II and VII is that Germany and Austria-Hungary are not very well supplied with horses, at least so far as numbers go. What is, perhaps, of even greater importance is the fact that Russia has been the chief source of Germany's supply, the latter country having apparently depended upon importations rather than breeding to keep up her supply. While Germany is apparently better supplied than England, as shown in Table II yet, as shown in Table VII, England is an exporter while Germany is an importer of horses. In other words, England breeds horses while Germany imports them. To understand how important this factor may become, we need only to remember the closing years of our Civil War. Not the least important of the

factors in deciding that issue was the difficulty which the South had in finding horses for her artillery and cavalry. The South, *i. e.*, the part south of Tennessee, had been depending on the North for her supplies.

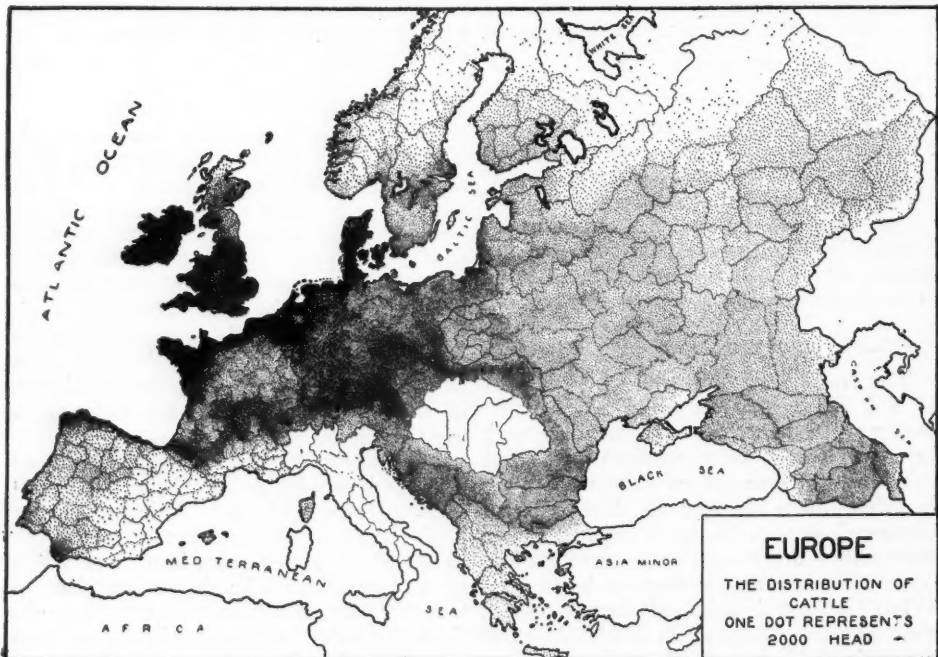
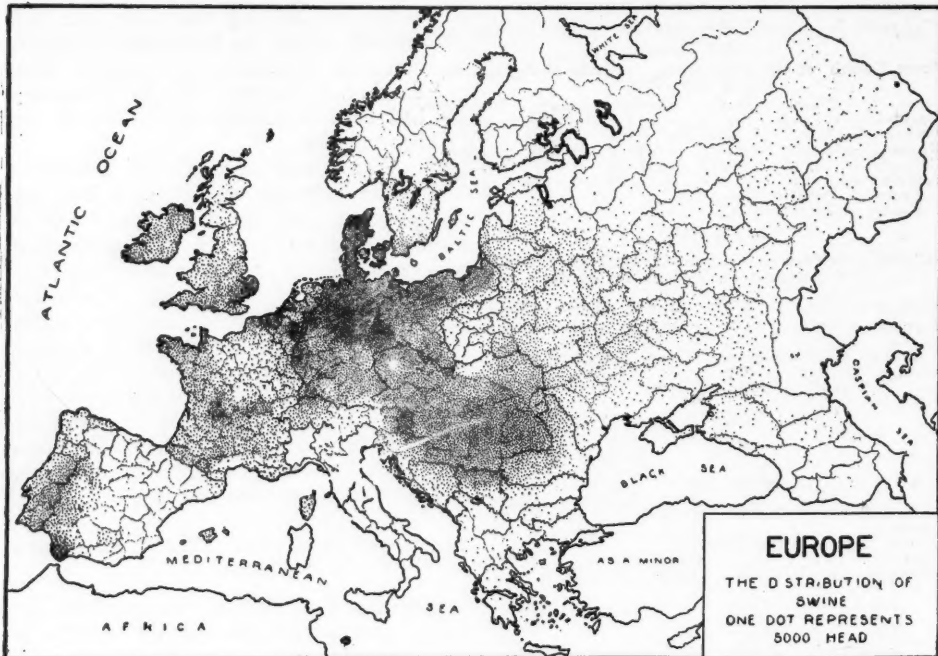
War is very destructive of horseflesh.

While Germany and Austria have an adequate supply for the present, the magnitude of the war may, if it be sufficiently prolonged, cripple her cavalry or her artillery, or both, and at the same time cripple her agriculture by withdrawing too many horses from it, unless she can get them from the outside. Of the important horse-breeding countries, Holland and Denmark are apparently the only ones upon which she can draw by the methods of peaceable purchase. She probably has all the Belgian horses by this time, and they are among the best in the world.

TRANSPORTATION NOT LIKELY TO BREAK DOWN

Granting that each of the countries involved may be able to produce enough, in the aggregate, of the various necessities to support her, the question of distributing the supplies among her people still remains. If one part of the country has a surplus while another is starving, the condition is about as bad as though there were no surplus. This is largely a matter of transportation. The question is often raised, nowadays, May not the transportation system be so tied up with the movement of troops and military supplies as to prevent the distribution of food to the people? They who think that the railway systems of Europe, which were designed and developed as parts of the military machines, are likely to break under the very use for which they were designed, must have a very poor opinion of the intelligence of their designers. They are welcome to their opinions.

On the whole, therefore, in the absence of effective blockades, or of wholesale devastation and pillage, there is little ground for hoping that any of the nations involved will be forced to sue for peace because of a lack of food supplies. The chances are that the war will have to be fought to a finish on the fields of battle. We must prepare ourselves to believe that they who are finally beaten will be beaten by slaughter and not by starvation. The possible shortage of horses if it becomes a factor at all, will be felt most acutely by the armies in the field, and will therefore be a factor in winning or losing battles rather than in supplying food.



The hog map, at the top of the page, shows at a glance that the area for the heavy production of swine sweeps down from Denmark, through Germany, Austria, and Hungary, these regions being available for the supply of the German people. The dots have not been filled in for Italy. The cattle map, while indicating a wide, even diffusion of cows and beef animals throughout Russia, shows heavy concentration in Germany, the Netherlands, and Denmark. The dots had not been filled in for Hungary, which appears white on the map, although it is a good cattle country. England, Ireland, and the coasts of France are particularly well supplied with beef animals.

GERMANY'S FOOD SUPPLY

WILL THE GERMANS HAVE AN AMPLE QUANTITY OF BREAD AND MEAT FOR ARMIES AND CIVIL POPULATION DURING THE NEXT TWO YEARS?

BY BERNHARD DERNBURG

[It is in compliance with the request of the Editor of this REVIEW that Mr. Dernburg presents the interesting data upon Germany's agriculture that will be found in the present article. For some weeks Mr. Dernburg has been in New York, having come over in the interest of the German Red Cross. He typifies Germany's efficient men of affairs who have built up the empire's financial and industrial strength. He is one of the foremost of Berlin's bankers, is a member of the upper house of the Prussian parliament, was for four years the Emperor's Minister of Colonies, and is a man of an extraordinary range of information, not only regarding the political, industrial, and military affairs of Germany, but also regarding the conflicts and rivalries of the great nations for foreign trade and colonial empire.—THE EDITOR.]

THIS is asking a very broad question and one that cannot be answered with any degree of correctness unless the scope of the inquiry be limited as to time. I shall, therefore, only try to give my answer for a space, say, of two years. But this answer also depends greatly upon the march of events, which may change the whole picture. I assume that Germany will hold on to Belgium and to the western part of Poland, but am not taking into consideration any foodstuffs that might be gotten from France, although it is just as likely as not that Germany will lay her hands on Havre.

SUPPLIES FROM HOLLAND, DENMARK, SWITZERLAND, BELGIUM

There is, furthermore, the question of the prisoners of war and the returning refugees, which might become a serious problem, if the prisoners of war in Germany, who number now about 300,000, should by Russian defeat be swollen to, say, a million. This is quite possible, in view of the fact that the battle at Tannenberg alone resulted in 90,000 prisoners. War is being waged on Germany by all her neighbors, except the three little states of Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland, the traffic connection with which cannot be interrupted, and which will be under the necessity of doing a good deal of trade with Germany.

They were regularly providing Germany, before the war, with meat, dairy products, fruit, barley, wheat, all of which they will continue to furnish, together with Sweden, and that the more since the chief customer for some of these products, namely England, has shut herself off by strewing the North Sea with mines.

The same is the case with Belgium. Danish dairy products are of so high a quality that they could only be purchased in England by the rich class, so the ordinary traffic in vegetables, poultry, and butter has been done always between Belgium and England. This, of course, will all be available for Germany as soon as the Belgian agriculture has been built up again. This, by the way, is one of the things that will be done by Germany as soon as Belgium has been liberated entirely from her invaders.

FROM ITALY AND OTHER NEIGHBORS

Then there is, of course, Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria. And it does not look,—in spite of French temptation and the liberal use of money among the Italian mobs by the French ambassador,—as if Italy would swerve from virtue. She is growing enormous quantities of vegetables, fruit, wines, rice, and must export it to maintain her balance of payment. Now, while Germany is being hampered on all sides and practically cut off from the sea, a great many former consumers of Italian goods are also cut off, and there will be a surplus, to be shipped to Germany, because it cannot go anywhere else.

So, for instance, the eastern part of France, and all of the western part of Russia, though I do not think that these countries will cut a very great figure. Then there is another factor that is very potent in an emergency of the present kind. No blockade, no closing of frontiers, no arrangements between authorities will ever prevent the trickling through of considerable materials to the best payer. But that I leave entirely out of count. My figures are made up without regard to contraband, without regard to Ru-

manian wheat and maize, or anything else that Bulgaria may be able to spare, or to such wheat and maize as may come from Asia Minor, whence the way is absolutely open to Germany without regard to any breadstuffs from Italy, as I consider these items merely as offsets against such foodstuffs as Germany may be called upon to use in feeding a population that is not her own.

BY WAY OF ANTWERP

This population will certainly be the first to suffer. If the Allies turn their war on Germany into a war of starvation, they must be prepared for the fact that whichever Allies are in our hands will get the first show. Even if England should continue to prescribe to the United States what amounts of wheat, cotton, and other things she should sell, even if she sends the stuff in her own bottoms to neutral countries, she cannot prevent any shipping in the Baltic nor regulate the overland traffic of home-grown produce of neutral countries; otherwise she would place herself in the position of a general distributor of food for half of the world, hampering not only the trade of the United States, but also mostly that of the small nations, which she would make believe to be so dear and near to her big heart.

Besides, there may be windfalls for Germany which England has not counted upon. I rather suspect that Antwerp will prove such a windfall, although the Allies have taken care to destroy a lot of American property in the oil tanks, so as to prevent their falling into the hands of the Germans. But then there will be some beautiful fishing now in the Scheldt and neighboring waters, and the Dutch sole is not to be despised. Of course, there will be some delicacies that Germany will have to forego; for instance, there may be some difficulty in getting enough cocoa, but of coffee there are enormous amounts stored in Hamburg, and there will be no deficiency.

GERMAN RYE AND WHEAT

So the main point will be, how is Germany to provide herself with breadstuffs, meat, fresh vegetables, and fruit, the first two as necessities for life, the last as indispensable for the health of the people? Now, taking the average year, we can say, counting wheat and rye together (and as information for the Americans I must add that rye-bread is *the* bread for Germany), there is a deficiency of a million to a million and a

quarter of tons that Germany does not raise herself, which is about 6 per cent. of the total consumption. This will probably have to be replaced by some other foodstuff, and the one that is presenting itself is the potato, the average crop of which is about fifty million tons, but this year we have as much as 80,000,000 tons.

POTATOES,—IN BREAD FORM

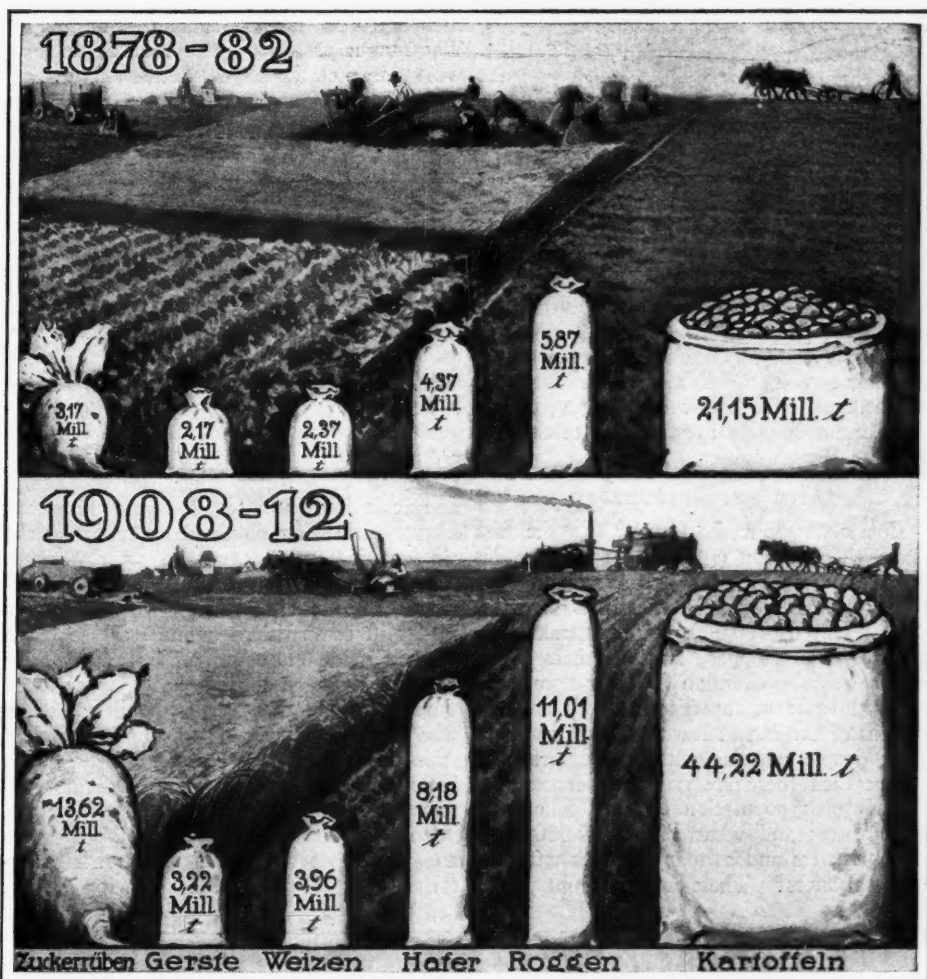
In the last years the art of preserving the potato has been a great problem in Germany. For a long time the military authorities had offered a premium for a good method of preserving potatoes. This premium has now been withdrawn, as the question can be considered as having been solved. There are various methods of preserving them. In the first place they are being cut up in very small slices and dried, the same way as all the California dried vegetables are offered in these markets. Then they have been converted into a most nutritious flour, which has heretofore been used to make cake and pastry, and this will now be added to the bread up to 20 per cent.

Now, it must be understood that 80,000,000 tons of potatoes means just about a ton and a quarter per head of the German population, equivalent to about four pounds a day all the year round for each German, women and children included. This potato crop has heretofore been mostly worked into alcohol, partly for consumption in industries, partly for beverages. But there is a very determined war being conducted in Germany against alcoholic beverages, and no soldier has been permitted even a drink of beer since the first day of mobilization.

SUGAR LANDS FOR ALFALFA

Then, of course, the food needs of the population will always have the precedence over any use of alcohol in the arts. Thus there will be a large surplus, which will more than make up any deficiency in wheat or rye. But that is not at all the end of it. Germany has been raising an average of 2,500,000 tons of sugar, whereof about half is being exported.

Now, sugar has been harvested in Germany for this year, and cannot be exported; consequently there is a two-years' supply on hand, which would mean that the big acreage employed in the raising of sugar-beets is available for such crops as might be short. On fields which grew sugar-beets, anything else can be planted and will give big harvests. There may be some shortage of fodder for



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THE INCREASE IN GERMANY'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, AVERAGE ANNUAL OUTPUT IN THE FIVE YEAR PERIODS FROM 1878 TO 1882 AND 1908 TO 1912

(The crops are—left to right—sugar beets, barley, wheat, oats, rye, potatoes)

animals, because a great deal of that has ordinarily been imported. Accordingly, this sugar ground will probably be sowed to alfalfa and other good haymaking crops, and so there will be no difficulty on this account either. One can say, therefore, no shortage of breadstuffs ought to be expected under these conditions.

SOME BEEF, AMPLE PORK

Americans are aware that the importation of meat into Germany has been partly prohibited, partly made impossible for a number of years, in order to give the incentive to German agriculture to raise home provisions. Ever since we knew that beef production was more or less monopolized, we have been

working intensely to become independent. So at the last counting there were no less than 20,000,000 beeves, 5,000,000 sheep, 3,000,000 goats, and 26,000,000 hogs in Germany. By the way, there were also about 5,000,000 horses.

Beef takes about three years to ripen, while hogs are ready within the year in which they are born. This means that Germany is able to produce every year about 8,000,000 beef animals, 5,000,000 sheep and goats, and 26,000,000 hogs, and with the peasants and laborers the pork is preferred on account of its cheapness and nutritious quality. That it makes a very good food everybody will agree, who has ever tasted Westphalian ham or Goettinger sausages.

FOOD FOR ANIMALS

Therefore, provided we can feed the animals, there will always be enough meat,—and I do think we can manage it. There are enormous areas in Germany, especially in the northwestern part, that can be turned into hayfields at short notice. As for vegetables, we have partly to rely on southern Germany, Belgium, and Italy. But the chief purveyor of late years has been Holland; and she being cut off from the English market, will yield the desired quantities. So the situation is at present entirely satisfactory, and the starving-out of Germany will prove just as much a piece of British braggadocio as, for instance, Mr. Churchill's digging out of the German fleet on the very day of the loss of three British cruisers.

LABOR FOR AGRICULTURE

But what about the future? In the first place, the question will be that of farm labor. There are 66,000,000 Germans. Of these, 5,000,000 have been called to arms. This leaves 61,000,000. A great many industries have stopped, and all their hands are free. The German love for home and the little garden, the slice of field, and the custom of keeping at least one hog, make all these people familiar with agriculture.

But then there are now 33 per cent. of the German population engaged wholly in agriculture; and what about 300,000 Russian prisoners and as many French and Belgian prisoners? These may be employed in

such crafts as they understand, according to The Hague protocol. They will be made to work for their keeping. Besides, moreover, the large estates in Germany have been worked for years past by machinery run by electricity, all of which has been driven by water power.

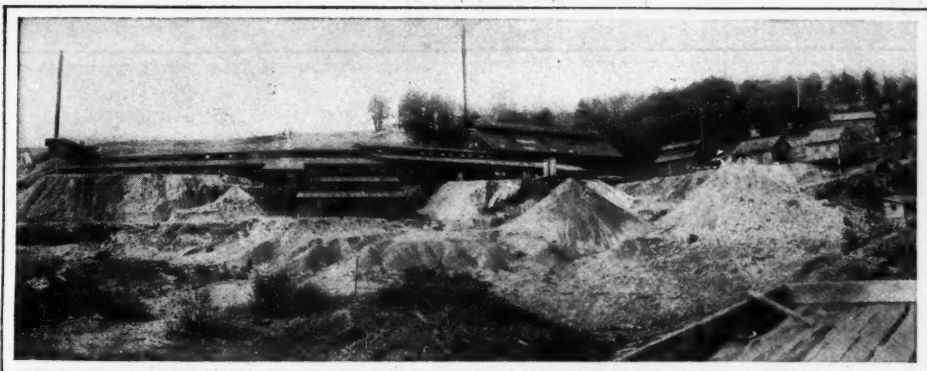
WILL WAR STIMULATE INVENTION?

So we finally come down to the question whether we have decent harvests. Of course a complete crop failure would be a serious matter for Germany in times of war, as well as in times of peace. But there is one element that must not be overlooked; there is nothing that incites so much the inventive genius as an emergency. It is known that Germany holds the best fertilizers of all the world in unmeasured quantities of potash, and it is known also that the necessary nitrates are being obtained by resolving the air into its component parts by electricity. The war will bring out any number of devices—processes that have been too expensive so far in competition—which will be taken up and made more perfect. Products will be turned to use that have never been thought of before. Like a good housewife who must get along suddenly upon a limited stipend per week, because some hardship has befallen her husband, so a nation, convinced of its good cause, and fairly successful in arts up to the present, will find its way and be able to buck up against the humanitarian English proposal of starving it out.



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BOY SCOUTS HELPING IN THE GERMAN HARVEST



ARSENIC MINE AT BRINTON, VA.

AMERICA'S MINERAL RESERVES

HOW THE WAR MAY REVEAL UNSUSPECTED RESOURCES

BY GUY ELLIOTT MITCHELL

(United States Geological Survey)

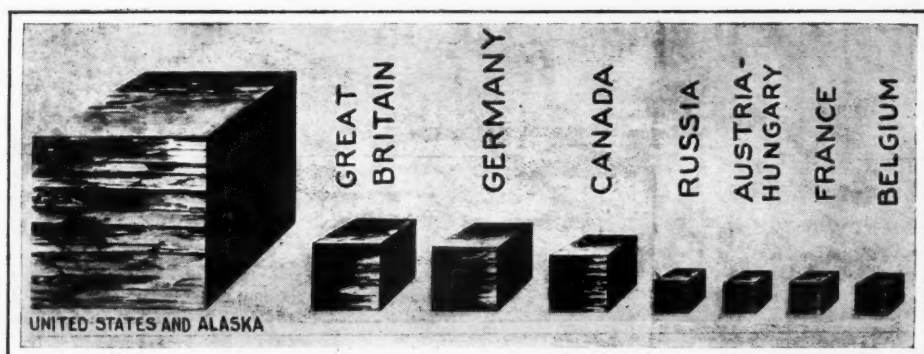
THE United States is not only the world's greatest producer of mineral wealth, but it possesses by far the greatest known reserves of any nation, in most of the important minerals. This is one of the things that has made us great, and which is destined to make us far greater as measured by world standards. In some instances, such as coal, and oil, and phosphate rock, and radium ore, the United States possesses more than all the other known deposits of the world, and the only essential minerals of the first rank of which the United States has no known supply at all commensurate with its needs are nitrates, potash salts, tin, nickel, and platinum. The very emphasizing of this fact by the cutting off of importations may result in the discovery and development of these minerals. But as it stands to-day no other nation in the world so nearly approaches absolute independence in respect to mineral resources, notwithstanding the vast magnitude of our home consumption.

The European war may curtail the production and exportation of some American minerals, but it will result in developing at home many others which we import and in establishing new industries on a permanent basis. When the foreign countries emerge from their struggle and seek to regain the American markets for these products they will find the markets occupied, established

on a firm American footing, and they will never regain them.

In a recent statement Secretary Franklin K. Lane said that the direct benefit to the United States from the European war will be its effect in making the people of this country realize to a far greater extent the value of its enormous mineral resources. Already the "Made-in-America" phrase, as suggested by Mr. Lane, is being widely discussed and acted on by various commercial bodies; not only the idea that the United States can produce for home consumption as high-class goods as anybody, but that with this label now is the time to invade and capture the non-belligerent foreign markets. South America, Africa, and Asia are cut off from their former supply, and the United States has the available resources to meet the situation. That we are able to feed ourselves indefinitely is a matter of vital satisfaction; with the development of certain of our mineral resources, heretofore neglected because it has been easier or a little cheaper to import the minerals than to develop the natural deposits, we shall be practically as independent of the world in this respect as we are agriculturally.

The annual production of the United States in the principal minerals is now valued at two and a half billion dollars. A brief consideration of the more important



COAL SUPPLIES OF THE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES

of these (based on the statistics for 1913) will be of interest.

COAL, OIL, IRON, AND TIN

Of coal, the United States produced last year 570,000,000 tons, or 40 per cent. of the world's output. Our reserve is estimated by the United States Geological Survey at about 3500 billion tons, or approximately as much as that of all the rest of the world. We may export coal with little fear of depleting this reserve.

Our production of petroleum was 242,000,000 barrels, or 65 per cent. of the total production of the world. The American reserve is estimated in the tens of billions of barrels, besides another vast reserve in the oil shales of the West. Oil exports amount to about one-fifth of the production, and these have been curtailed by the war. However, American manufacturers may now turn to the making of many by-products of petroleum which have been imported in large quantities.

Of iron ore we produced 60,000,000 tons, and the enormous ore reserves are estimated in billions of tons. The European countries that rank next to the United States in the output of iron ore, namely, Germany, Great Britain, and France, are at war, and Austria and Russia are likewise large producers. The interference with mining in these countries cannot fail to enlarge the demand for American iron and steel. In fact, the demand has already come from England, Scotland, Japan, and South America. The United States has heretofore had only a fraction of the trade of South America in iron and steel and machinery, but our manufacturers are now actively canvassing for the extension of this trade.

Probably one of the best illustrations of America's opportunity to develop new industries is afforded by tin. The known American deposits are very small and production

from them will probably not be much affected by the present higher prices. The benefit which the United States may obtain from the present situation is stated by George Otis Smith, director of the United States Geological Survey, in a recent inventory of the mineral reserves of the United States, as lying in the establishment of a tin smelter industry in this country in which Bolivian tin ores may be smelted. Between 30,000 and 40,000 tons of tin concentrates have been shipped each year from Bolivia to Europe for smelting; but the smelting of these ores presents no difficulties that American metallurgists can not overcome. A few years ago a smelter was established at Bayonne, N. J., in which to smelt Malayan tin ores, but a prohibitive export duty was immediately placed on Malayan tin ores not going to some part of the British empire.

Such a thing could not happen in Bolivia, and indeed only a few days ago Secretary Rosendo Pinilla of the Bolivian legation at Washington stated the desirability of establishing American smelters. "Of all the countries of the western hemisphere," he said, "Bolivia is practically the only producer of tin. The 'barilla,' the tin concentrates, carrying from 50 to 70 per cent. of tin, has been shipped heretofore to Europe, finding its way through the Liverpool markets to smelters in England and Germany. These smelters refine the tin and it is sent to the United States, which consumes more tin than any other country. Of 45,000 tons of tin produced last year in Bolivia the shipment direct to the United States was the insignificant amount of only 8 tons. It seems now absolutely necessary for the United States to get the raw product direct from Bolivia and smelt it here. This, it occurs to me, is an extremely interesting proposition for the capitalists of this country."

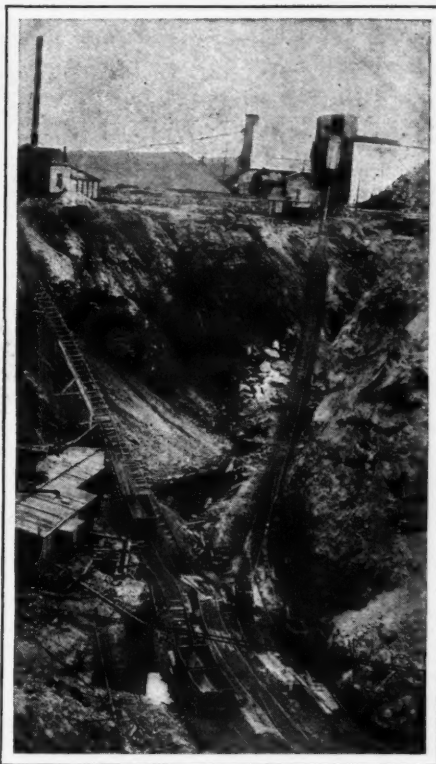
MANGANESE

Manganese and manganiferous iron ores, which are extensively used in steel making, have been mostly imported, largely from Russia. Last year we brought in 345,000 tons against a domestic production of only 4048 tons, yet, according to the Geological Survey, it is cheering to know that this country possesses within easy reach of manufacturing centers abundant reserves of this important ore.

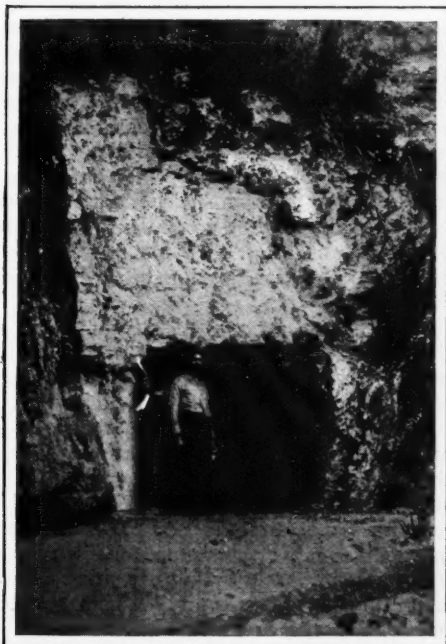
ZINC, LEAD, AND COPPER

Of zinc the American production was 346,000 tons, and by a queer coincidence the great smelting centers of continental Europe are in regions where active fighting is now in progress, totally destroying the industries, so that zinc smelting in Europe will be in a badly demoralized condition indefinitely. On the other hand, the industry in the United States has increased in the last few years faster than the consumption, so that with ample deposits this country is in a position to supply the world.

The United States produced 412,000 tons of lead, nearly double the output of the next producing country. Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, and France together produced 320,000 tons, while the imports of lead into Great Britain alone exceeded her exports by



OPEN-PIT ZINC MINING AT JOPLIN, MO.



A CALIFORNIA MAGNESITE MINE, SHOWING THE WHITE OUTCROP

over 180,000 tons. The opportunity to supply the foreign demand is now the United States'.

The American production of copper amounted to 1,220,000,000 pounds, 55 per cent of the world's production, and the reserve is enormous.

With the possible exception of the silver industry, the copper industry will probably feel the injurious effects of the European war more seriously than any other of the leading American metal industries. During the last five years approximately 50 per cent. of the copper turned out by American refineries has been exported almost entirely to the countries now involved in the European war. Some of this copper has been imported by them for metallurgical treatment, and the imports will probably be somewhat restricted on account of shipping conditions.

During these five years, however, domestic consumers have taken only about 63 to 67 per cent. of the copper produced from mines within the United States, so it is evident that there must be a material curtailment of production while present conditions prevail. Considerable copper is, of course, consumed



AN ARKANSAS BAUXITE (ALUMINUM ORE) MINE

in munitions of war and for other military purposes, but the constructive arts of peace are far more favorable for the copper industry than the destructive art of war.

American producers have already greatly curtailed their production, and it seems almost certain that the output must be materially restricted for an indefinite period, the length of which will depend largely on the European conditions.

OUR EXPORT OF METALLIC PRODUCTS

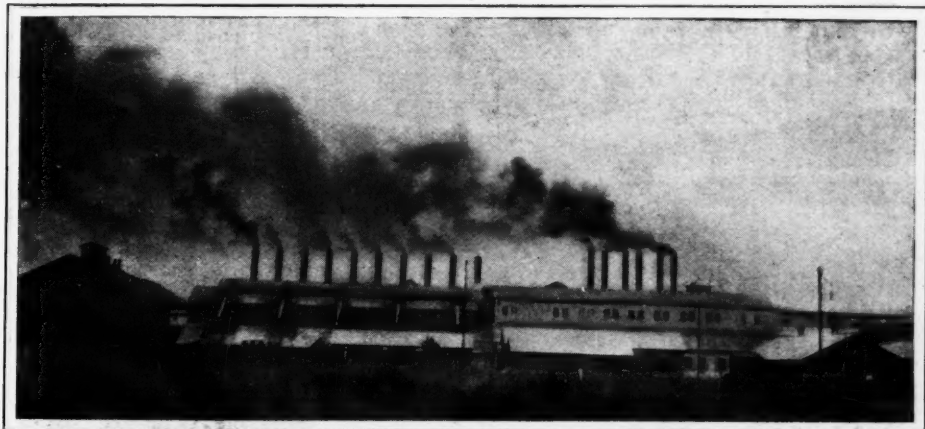
Out of the total copper exports in 1913, valued at \$143,000,000, over \$126,000,000 represented metal in pigs, ingots, and bars, and nearly all the remainder was exported in plates, sheets, rods, and wire. All these exports went to European countries, with the exception of about \$7,000,000 worth, which was sent mainly to Canada. Both the imports and the exports of articles manufactured of copper and brass were comparatively small. The exports of articles made from brass amounted to only about \$5,600,000,—an almost negligible quantity compared with the domestic consumption. The value of the European exports of articles manufactured from copper and brass was undoubtedly many times that of the exports from the United States. A very small percentage of the European exports came to the United States, so that the war will have little effect here.

The opportunity for the American manufacturer lies in entering the foreign markets that were largely supplied by European exports of manufactured goods. The capacity of the domestic manufacturing plants has not been strained to meet consumption, and the plants have not been operated to full capacity, so that as far as manufacturing facilities are concerned they are able to supply a large part of any demand from South America, Africa, China, Australia, and other countries. With lack of competition from Europe and low prices for crude material, the export trade should be profitable to the manufacturers and result in the consumption of nearly all the copper produced in the United States.

With the lack of competition from Europe the export trade should be highly profitable to the American manufacturer of steel, copper, aluminum, and other metal products.

In aluminum ores, France is the leading producer and Germany the manufacturer, although the United States has large deposits and also manufactures extensively. In 1913 the United States produced 210,000 tons of bauxite, the ore of aluminum, and with the French supply probably cut off, this country is presented an opportunity which it would never have otherwise secured.

In the extension of the cement export trade American manufacturers are believed to have



AN INDIANA CEMENT PLANT

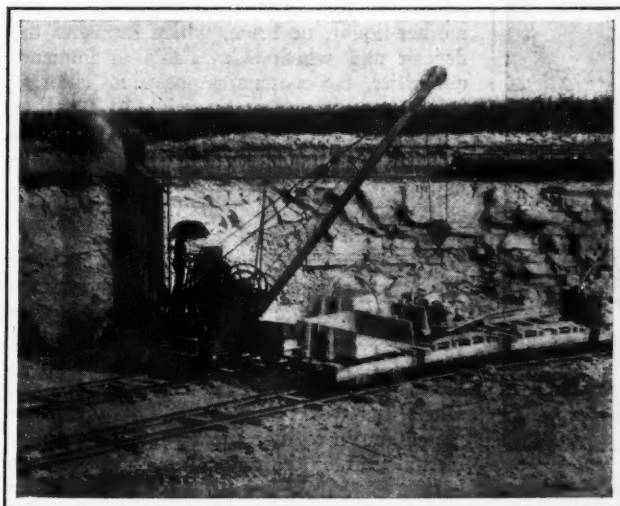
a golden chance. Our production last year was 92,000,000 barrels, the largest in history, yet American plants ran only three-fourths of their capacity so that with no additional investment they should be able to make an added 20,000,000 or 25,000,000 barrels. Within the past twenty years we have made ourselves entirely independent of foreign cement; now is the opportunity presented to capture the markets of the peaceful portion of the world.

MINERAL WATERS

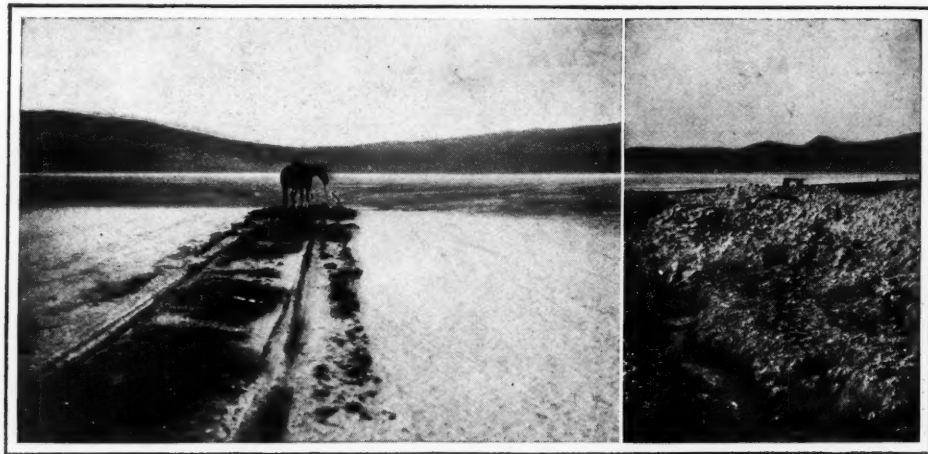
Additional minerals of which we have abundant supplies for our neighbors as well as for ourselves, but some of which we have been importing, are antimony, phosphate rock, arsenic, barytes, sulphur, fluospar, pot-

tery material, salt, abrasives, and many others of greater or less importance. Importations of these have amounted to millions of dollars a year, but they can all be developed at home. For instance, we have been importing about \$1,000,000 worth of mineral waters from Germany and elsewhere, but the Geological Survey says that many persons addicted to the Apollinaris, or Celestine-Vichy habit might be equally well satisfied by waters from American springs, in bottles of American glass, bearing labels printed in the United States.

The best soda-water gas is made from magnesite rock, which is 53 per cent. carbonic acid gas. America's only notable deposits of this mineral are in California, and by reason of the long freight haul they have never been able to compete with inferior Austrian magnesite and the cheap ocean freights. Consequently our imports last year were 172,000 tons, compared with only 9600 tons produced in the United States. Speculation within the last few years has arisen as to whether with the Panama Canal completed California could not supply the eastern United States with its soda-water gas and with other magnesite products. Now, the war in Europe answers the question very definitely; California will have to supply these articles or the rest of the country will do without them.



QUARRYING INDIANA LIMESTONE FOR CEMENT

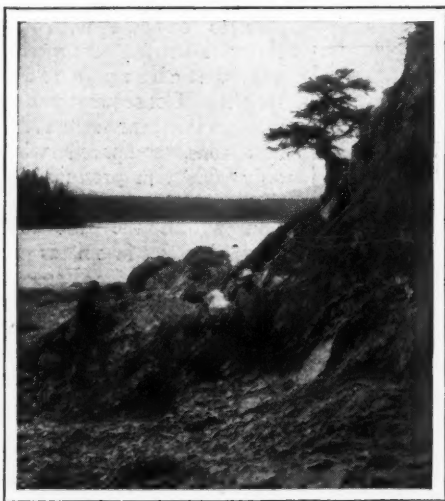


THE GREAT SEARLES LAKE POTASH DEPOSITS,
NEAR DEATH VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

EFFLORESCENCE ON EDGE OF
DEPOSITS

NITRATES AND POTASH

The two minerals which the United States seems absolutely to lack are nitrates and potash salts, both important fertilizers, and both used in the manufacture of explosives. The nitrate supply of the world comes from the Chilean deposits and the potash from the German deposits. The Geological Survey and the Department of Agriculture have for several years been prosecuting explorations in the West for both of these minerals, and doubtless the cutting off of the world's potash supply from Germany will further stimulate the search. Our imports of these two salts last year represented nearly \$40,000,000.



BARITE BLUFF DEPOSIT IN ALASKA
(Discovered last year by E. F. Burchard, of the
United States Geological Survey)

The Searles Lake deposit, not far from Death Valley in southeastern California, probably contains the most promising immediate source of potash in this country. It consists of a smooth plain of crusted salt underlain by a bed of salt and brine to a very uniform depth of about 75 feet and extending over an area of 20 or more square miles. The area of the ancient Searles Lake as it overflowed its present valley into several adjoining valleys was about 250,000 acres and its depth was at least 640 feet, and probably much more. The aggregate volume of minerals, including potash, held in solution in this enormous body of water, has been largely concentrated in the present Searles Lake basin. The major part of the potash in this deposit is contained in the mother-liquor, or brine, which saturates the deposit and which is available in immense quantities, the content as potassium chloride being about 4 per cent. by weight of the brine. The deposit also contains other valuable materials which may be produced as by-products in a potash industry, such as soda ash, borax, and, if a market for them is obtained, common salt and sodium sulphate.

The American Trona Corporation has installed an experimental unit for the manufacture of chloride of potash and other salts at the Searles deposit. The 31-mile railroad from the station Searles on the Southern Pacific Railroad to the new town of Trona, where the works are situated, is now completed and in regular operation. The experimental unit of the new plant is reported to have a capacity for handling 20,000 gallons of brine daily. When the process and equip-

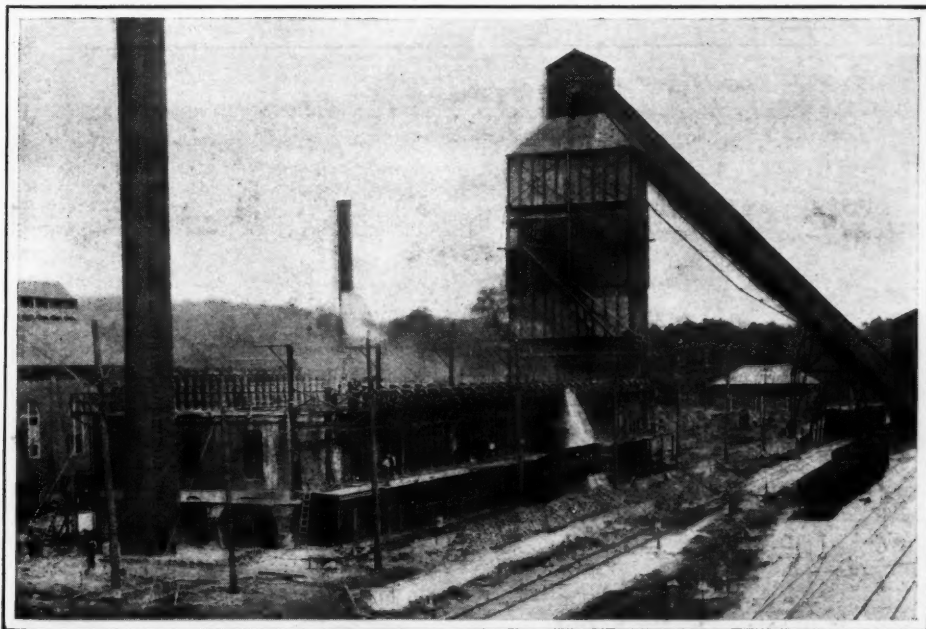
ment have been thoroughly proved by actual operation it is proposed to increase the output many fold. As yet, however, the process remains in the experimental stage, and it is not certain just how soon we may look for an actual potash production from this deposit.

COAL-TAR PRODUCTS

Besides the development of many latent mineral reserves of various kinds, especially in the event of the prolongation of the war and the prostration of the European industries, there must unquestionably come to the United States a great activity in the manufacture of mineral products of a thousand and one kinds. To name them would require a volume, but take as a single example carbolic acid. Immediately that the war was declared the price in America of carbolic acid jumped over 1000 per cent.,—due to the fact that the United States imports all its carbolic acid; yet our production of coal tar, from which carbolic acid is derived, amounted last year to over a billion pounds. Now see what we did with some of it. We exported 36,500,000 pounds, one-third of it to Germany and one-fifth to Belgium, for which we received \$150,000. Then we

turned around and imported, of carbolic acid alone, over 8,000,000 pounds, one-third of it from Germany, for which we paid, exclusive of freight, commissions, and profits, \$675,000. In short, the United States is vitally in need of a coal-tar products manufacturing industry. Our total imports of such products, including aniline dyes, colors, medicinal preparations, etc., amounted last year to some \$12,000,000. Coal tar is simply a by-product, a raw material produced in the manufacture of coke.

All in all, the United States has the greatest opportunity for dominating the industrial world which has ever come to any country. The competitors who are left are few; most of the important producers of minerals and manufactured mineral products are bending every effort toward destruction rather than production; indeed they are fighting for national existence. They can give little or no thought to commerce. Therefore America must of necessity develop and supply herself with the products which she has heretofore purchased from these countries, and she may also, in large measure, meet the demands of the rest of the world which also has been cut off from its former supply.



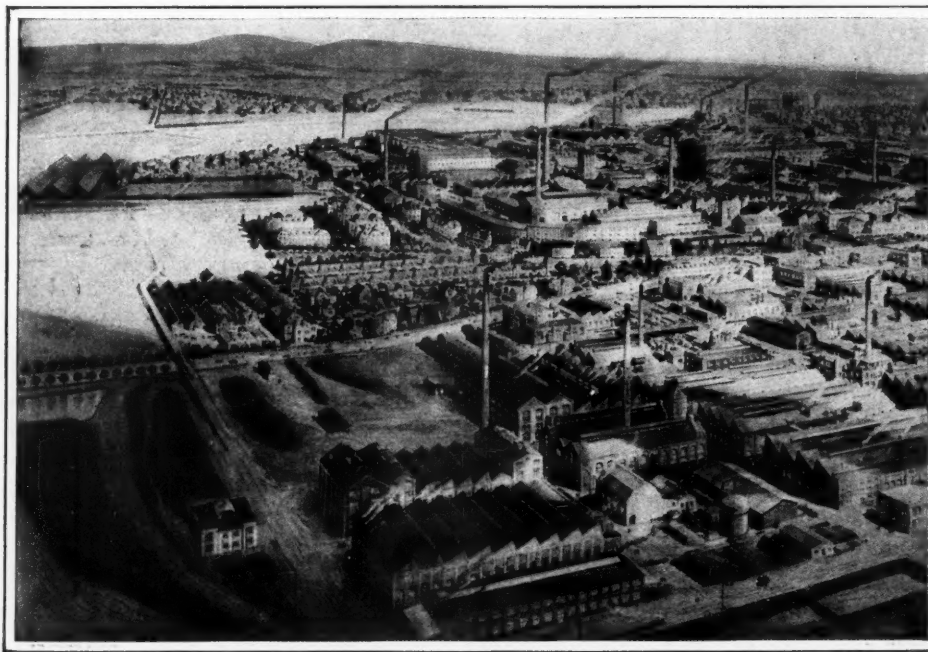
A BY-PRODUCTS COKE PLANT, WHENCE COME COAL-TAR PRODUCTS
(Annual production of United States, one billion pounds)

GERMAN DYES AND AMERICAN CLOTHES

BY DAVID F. ST. CLAIR

THE war has brought the textile, toy, and drug trades and agriculture in the United States face-to-face with a number of serious, untried problems. It has threatened to demoralize these trades and agriculture to such an extent that last month Mr. Herman A. Metz, an extensive importer and dealer in dyestuffs from Germany, headed a syndicate of business men to charter a vessel under the American flag to bring dyestuffs, potash, drugs, and other much-needed German products from Rotterdam to New York. This is an enterprise that at best, Mr. Metz admits, can only partially relieve these sorely depressed trades, and then only for a few weeks at a time, for Germany is now operating her dyestuff factories and potash mines only on half time, and under the protracted stress of war she may soon be compelled to shut them down entirely.

Then what? The people of the United States may in another twelve or eighteen months have to dress in cheap logwood blacks, dull vegetable blues, browns, yellows, and drabs, and the unbleached whites of our grandfathers and grandmothers—for the war-swept countries also furnish our bleaching powders. To all women, and to many men, such would be one of the darkest prospects of the war, for the new variety, delicacy, beauty, and fastness in shades of color in dress have become one of the most distinctive features of all fashion. Every season brings scores of new shades of color into the market in its effort to charm and win the eyes of trade, and never has color in raiment, and especially in woman's raiment, become so human and personal as now. But along with Europe the war may yet garb us in the somberness of mourning, in sackcloth and ashes.



HOECHST ON THE MAIN, ONE OF THE GREAT DYESTUFF CEN.
(Three hundred expert chemists are employed here, each of whom makes a life-long

Nearly all the dyestuffs now on the market are made from benzol, a coal-tar product. With two transformations benzol becomes aniline. Germany now supplies the United States with 80 per cent. of all the dyestuffs it consumes. Last year we imported \$12,000,000 worth of these dyestuffs, over \$8,000,000 coming from Germany and the balance from Switzerland and other countries. We, ourselves, manufacture practically none. We import from Germany and Austria the raw material for more than a dozen of our twenty principal drugs. Three-fifths of all our Christmas toys come from the cities of Nuremberg and Sonneberg. Every ton of potash and two-thirds of the sulphate of ammonia put into the fertilizers that are used on our farms come from Germany.

GERMAN TOYS "MADE IN AMERICA"

German drugs and toys we can manage to dispense with for a season. The American Pharmaceutical Association in its meeting at Detroit in August appointed a commission to find substitutes for the German and Austrian medicinal herbs, and with the exception of cantharides (an insect) practically all the raw materials for the principal drugs can be found or grown in America. We have not produced them because we could buy them cheaper from abroad. As for toys, the Ger-

mans have already begun to make German toys in the United States. One concern set up a factory in Philadelphia two years ago, but the venture did not succeed and the manufacturers were about to shut up shop when they hit upon the idea of labeling their goods in the German language. The public, seeing the German labels, supposed the goods were made in Germany and readily purchased them, though the English translation read, "Made in Philadelphia."

GERMANY'S SUPREMACY IN DYESTUFFS

But with the shortage in dyestuffs, potash, and sulphate of ammonia, the war furnishes us with a warning illustration of how nearly complete is Germany's monopoly in these trades, and how dependent we are as a great commercial nation upon her for the prosperity of our agriculture and textile industries. Especially is this so at the most opportune moment in our history, when we are straining every nerve to capture our share of the world's commerce thrown on the market by the war. If for the next twelve or eighteen months we should be seriously handicapped in the cloth-goods and shoe trade, we cannot hope to capture and hold permanently the lost English, German, and French trade in these lines in South America and other foreign countries. With the right sort of goods



TERS—TYPICAL OF GERMANY'S MODERN INDUSTRIAL TOWNS
study of one particular product. Dutch vessels are seen in the foreground)

there is a trade that lies right under our hands, but a trade that we may never again have for the simple taking.

England, besides having a war on her hands, is handicapped by these same difficulties in her textile trades. Although she is the original home of the coal-tar dyestuff discoveries, she has never developed these industries to anything like the extent that Germany has. Germany furnishes her with nearly all the finer grades of dyestuffs. But England has one advantage over us. Being at war with Germany, she can declare the German patents void—she has already intimated her intention of doing so—while we can use the patents, if at all, only with the payment of huge royalties. Our patent laws do not require the patentees of foreign countries to manufacture their goods in the United States. On the other hand, the new English patent law enacted in 1909 requires all foreign patentees to manufacture their goods in the United Kingdom within four years from the time the patent is secured or the patent lapses. This law is, of course, aimed at the inventive genius and trade of England's great competitors, America and Germany, where far more inventions and discoveries are made in proportion to population than in England.

GERMANY'S VICTORIOUS CHEMISTS

But with the patents in their possession, neither England nor the United States has the trained color chemists and cheap manual labor to engage in the coal-tar dye industries in competition with Germany. It is a remarkable fact that of the three foremost commercial nations of the world, each the stout rival of the other two, the one now shut out from the seas and her foreign trade should be able through her engineers in color chemistry to deal her rivals such a vital blow. Every month that Germany's foreign commerce is suspended is a handicap to the commerce of her rivals, and this fact should be a technical object-lesson to our trade at a time when we are in a way to conquer the world's markets.

Germany has founded her industries and won the great foreign commerce now swept from the seas largely upon the skill, patience, and research of her more than two generations of trained chemical engineers. She has laid on the altar of this war the long-accumulated fruits of yoking up her universities with her mills and factories. One coal-tar dyestuff industry alone on the Rhine employs more than two hundred trained chemists, many of them engaged wholly in research

work. Eighty-five per cent. of the products of all the coal burnt is utilized, while in the United States only 20 per cent. of the coal products is utilized. Last year Germany produced from coal tar alone wealth to the amount of \$125,000,000. From this same coal tar she manufactured more than 2500 commercial shades of dyeing colors, ranging through every band of the rainbow. These dyestuffs not only figure in every yard of silk, wool, and cotton turned out by American looms, but they are now used extensively in the coloring of leather and in paints. Our only substitutes are the old vegetable dyes, and the principal one of these, indigo, India has almost ceased to cultivate.

BRILLIANT COLORS FROM COAL TAR

It will be recalled how the bright, flashy indigo shades in serges, the fast yellows, greens, mauves, oranges and reds in silks and cottons startled the eyes a few years ago. The older generation, accustomed to wear the dull colors, hesitated to dress in these new colors, but we now know these brilliant shades represent the supreme achievement in German color chemistry from coal tar. Some of these refined shades have been evolved only after ten or more distinct, complex transformations from the aniline base and after years of patient research. Some of the most valuable industrial work of the nation is locked up in these secret formulas hidden away in laboratories and patent offices. More valuable assets are they than Krupps and Zeppelins. If Germany is envied, it ought to be in such unrivaled work as this.

WHY DO WE NOT PRODUCE DYESTUFFS?

But why can we not at once establish dyestuff industries in the United States? If we had the patents, and we cannot have them without paying huge royalties to their German owners, we have not the trained color chemists, nor have we the business experience to manage such industries, nor the time to build plants, and the cheap labor to operate them. Mr. Metz says it will require from three to five years to build and learn to operate successfully a first-class dyestuff industry. All these complex chemical transformations in the evolving of refined shades require a vast establishment and an army of cheap but most efficient chemists. The American chemists will not work in coal-tar color chemistry for the prices that a manufacturer could afford to pay, especially when Germany again begins to export. In order to establish such industries and keep them

going, the tariff, now only 30 per cent. on the finished products imported from Germany, would have to be greatly increased.

But while it is evident that we cannot meet the present emergency in our textile trade without imported dyestuffs, it is now the time to take thought for the future. We should have our own dyestuff industries as one of the commercial results of the war. Had we been a comparatively poor nation in natural resources, like Germany, we should not for more than forty years have let many hundreds of millions of dollars run to waste from the coke ovens of Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Birmingham. Being rich, we have developed no genius for that painstaking, by-product-saving branch of chemistry that has helped so much to make the poorer nation rich. And now it is astonishing to learn at the beginning of the war that Germany had more millionaires in proportion to population than has America. It is this great wealth gleaned from most meagre materials that has caused Germany to despise her competitors and to imagine that she can take the whole world by the horns.

THE GERMAN POTASH MONOPOLY

Germany showed her trade arrogance four or five years ago as to the one great natural trade monopoly that she possesses, the potash monopoly, in her potash controversy with the United States. Having in the Stassfurt mines the only known deposits of potash of inexhaustible supply, she did not hesitate to hold up the American farmer. But while our textile industries and trade may not be able to develop domestic sources of supply to meet the emergency created by the war, a slight gleam of hope comes across the darkness that our farmers may yet find a part home supply for their needs in potash.

We may find potash a-plenty, but to meet the demands of our farmers after Germany has again put her potash on the American market, we must find potash in some locality where it can be shipped to the fertilizer factories for the same or less cost than the imported commodity. Three-fourths of all the potash used by our farmers go to the factories on the Atlantic Seaboard. From Germany this potash is shipped by the Elbe River from Magdeberg to Hamburg, and thence

all the way by water to Richmond, Va., and other points on the coast. Until the German potash was advanced in price, this cheap freight on it acted as a strong influence to check the search for potash deposits in this country. But within the last four years the whole country has been mined, scoured, and investigated for potash, wherever it was thought possible to find it, by the Government's Geological Survey, by syndicates and private individuals. The quest has been almost as eager in many localities as for gold, for without potash the farmers in the older States of the Union cannot raise full crops of grain, cotton, and hay. Potash is one of the most effective means of reducing the high cost of living.

AMERICAN POTASH

For this reason a week after the war began the news was flashed over the country and featured in big headlines that a deposit of 10,000,000 tons of potash had been discovered at Searles Lake, in Death Valley, Cal. The most important feature of the announcement was the statement of Mr. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, that within three months potash will be mined at Searles Lake at the rate of 120 tons per day, or 37,440 tons per year. This rate of production will not, of course, begin to meet the demands of the fertilizer companies for this season. Last year these companies shipped 300,000 tons from Germany and there is now very little on hand. According to the opinion of Hoyt S. Gale, of the Geological Survey, and E. E. Free, of the Bureau of Soils, the Searles Lake potash is easily available and of high standard commercially; besides, it is near the coast, from which it can be shipped through the Panama Canal at less cost than the German potash. The equipment for mining it will, of course, be greatly enlarged.

From the mills on the Rhine is also shipped the great bulk of the sulphate of ammonia used by our fertilizer factories. This compound is even more important to our farmers, if possible, than potash, for its chief constituent is nitrogen, the most expensive of all the chemical elements needed in plant growth. It is a coal-tar product and we ought to produce it here in abundance.

"MADE IN AMERICA!"

WHAT AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS CAN DO TO FILL THE DEMAND
PREVIOUSLY MET BY EUROPEAN GOODS

BY JOSEPH H. APPEL

[Mr. Appel, who writes the present article, is prominently connected with very large mercantile enterprises which make him exceptionally familiar with all the sources of supply that are drawn upon by the retail trade of America. He knows the products of American factories and mills, and also everything having to do with the importation of finished commodities,—especially drygoods, clothing, and notions,—from Europe. This condensed article contains more information upon the present outlook for American manufacture and trade than has heretofore been brought together in any single statement.—THE EDITOR.]

IN considering the industrial situation created by the European war we must keep in mind these three things:

(1) All foreign merchandise imported into the United States is less than 10 per cent. of the merchandise consumed here, reaching an annual total, however, of the enormous sum of about two billions of dollars.

(2) Of such goods as cottons, woolens, linens, silks, laces, hosiery, gloves, which make up most of our imported dry goods, there was in bond on October 1, in New York, scarcely a million dollars less than last year at that time, making less than a 10 per cent. shortage.

(3) The shortage of foreign merchandise, due to the war, will be felt very little this fall and winter, as shipments are generally completed. The great shortage, if war continues, will come next spring.

A letter from Germany, from a manufacturer's agent, received in New York so late as October 16, gives this information of merchandise conditions there now:

I believe it will interest you to receive a few lines from Germany, and I am pleased to inform you that we are all well. Everything here in Germany is running its usual course, and if for a short time we have shipped less goods it was not because the factories were closed, as this was positively not so, but for the reason that in the first excitement we all thought that we would be unable to ship goods. In consequence thereof we requested our manufacturers to suspend all orders.

It is now evident that we can ship merchandise, and, as it is as quiet in Germany as in time of peace, in a city like Frankfort, for instance, one notices nothing of war, and therefore all factories cannot only furnish goods, but even more than before,—because at the present time England, a large user, cannot take any goods from us.

Now that we can ship goods, you will receive regular shipment, because, as already above stated,

all factories are open as usual, all business houses and theaters are open, and it cannot be noticed there is a war.

If I write you this, you know it is not newspaper talk, but actual facts.

A survey of the general drygoods field, made in direct touch with American and European markets, shows the following condition in the United States, so far as manufacturers are disclosing their plans:

General.—A large New York importer, recounting the difficulty of obtaining foreign goods at this time, announces that he has added new lines to his various domestic departments, such as china, glass, toys, dolls, house furnishings, enamel and chinaware, leather goods, fancy goods, druggists' sundries, brushes, toilet articles, gloves, and laces; and that he is "now concentrating his efforts on domestic goods"; that "the need for domestic goods under existing conditions is phenomenal and the domestic factories are preparing to meet the greatly increased demand."

Silks.—Twenty years ago we imported 87 per cent. of our silks and made 13 per cent. To-day these figures are reversed and we import less than 20 per cent. and make more than 80 per cent.

With an American silk manufacturer selling his product in Paris, where it is used by the great dressmakers, it seems as though we did produce silks as fine as those made abroad. But this is not strictly true. We are the peer of any nation in making plain-color silks and fancy silks of the cheaper grades, but in the fine novelty silks we do not yet compete. There were in bond in New York October 1, \$1,823,357 of imported silk dress-goods, in addition to large stocks in importers' and merchants' hands. Unless the war continues long there will be little

pressure on the American silk manufacturers to attempt to produce the silks in which foreign countries excel.

Dress-Goods.—The head of one of the largest American dress-fabric mills says:

The American manufacturers and converters have the greatest opportunity of their lives at present for future business, if they were given the proper encouragement to manufacture the higher class wool and cotton fabrics by the American merchants, as they can weave and print and finish equal to the English and French competitors and they are right in a position to operate if given full support. In the next two or three years we will make big progress along the better lines, and the only drawback at present is on account of the dyes. But I am sure and hope that America will be able to overcome that part in the near future.

This statement is very encouraging, but we must remember that it comes from an American mill, which has sold its product in Paris in competition with French fabrics,—a feat that we believe few other American dress-goods manufacturers have accomplished. If all American dress-goods manufacturers were equal to this concern there would be little difficulty in replacing foreign-made dress-goods with an American product.

Dyes and Raw Materials.—The question of dyes is a serious one, as America has been depending upon Germany for the dyes extracted from coal-tar products. Only a limited supply is on hand, and on October 1 the coal-tar colors in bond in New York amounted to only \$35,692, as against \$167,183 of the same date last year. Immediately war was declared some of the great American manufacturers using dye set their chemists at work seeking a substitute for the German dyes. But this only shows how ill-prepared we are to meet the emergency, and it will be some time before we are able to produce our own American dyes that will give satisfaction.

The president of a large chemical company recently said: "The American dyestuff manufacturer can furnish 90 per cent. of the types of dyes used, not speaking of quantity, but the tariff now at 10 per cent. is not sufficiently high to counteract the effect of the low cost of German manufacture."

Among basic raw materials we are largely dependent upon foreign countries for such things as raw silk, hides, bristles, mineral oils, and perfume oils used in toilet goods, and skins for making gloves.

It was to be expected, of course, that Thomas A. Edison would be among the first

Americans to produce a basic product cut off by the war.

Mr. Edison himself tells how he was caught short of carbolic acid, which is a basic product used in the production of his Edison disc records, and how he met the situation.

"I took thirty of my best men,—chemists,—divided them into three shifts, and worked day and night for seventeen days, making combinations of chemicals until we produced the carbolic acid that we needed."

Ribbons.—Not over 12 per cent. of the ribbons used in America are imported. The war, therefore, has little real effect on the ribbon business. Mills in France being retarded, there will come to this country a great quantity of Japanese and Chinese raw silk, which will lower its price and boost the American ribbon business.

Laces and Embroideries.—In a half-dozen years the American production of laces, embroideries, and kindred lines has grown from about 2 per cent. to nearly 10 per cent. of the total consumption. The lace industry shows commendable enterprise, and some lace is really being designed here. But, generally speaking, our manufacturers do not seem to be doing much to replace the kind of laces made abroad. The few mills turning out silk nets, embroidered net edges, flouncings, all-overs, are running at top speed, some of them night and day, but as yet there has been no evidence of enlarging their plants or of new factories going up. It is difficult to enlarge a lace plant quickly, because lace machines are not made in this country,—another evidence of our inability to meet the present situation. Importers representing the St. Gall and Calais market are still taking orders and factories there are said to be running.

Linens.—There is no American substitute to speak of for European linens except the cotton mercerized table linens and the "union" towels which are made of cotton and linen, both of which, even before the war, began to take the place of the cheaper grades of linens, which could no longer be produced, because of the rising cost of flax.

The linen manufactories of Ireland and Scotland seem to be running and filling orders, and most Irish and Scotch factories have yarns enough to last them from three to six months. But beginning next spring there is bound to be a scarcity of linens, and the American-made cotton substitutes will un-

doubtedly take their place in the cheaper grades. Importers of linens are now making inquiries about American-made substitutes, which shows the trend of the times.

Gloves.—There is no perceptible movement to meet the shortage of foreign gloves. A strike in some of the American-made factories, added to the fact that most of the skins come from Europe, complicates the situation. American glove manufacturers have not enough skins to fill their orders for this autumn's trade. Expectation is that the spring business will be largely on silk gloves, which are manufactured almost exclusively in America, and the American makers are preparing for an extra large production.

Furs.—This report from an expert is very interesting indeed:

It may be that the war will bring to New York a raw fur market which has been centered in London for no reason other than custom. With furs largely grown on this continent, the American fur dealer, whose business it is to buy skins and convert them into garments, has to cross the ocean, bid in the pelt and then bring it back to America. Nothing except custom, and the supremacy of German dyes, has prevented skins from coming direct from the trapping grounds to New York.

Now, because of the war, there will be no October sales of furs in London, perhaps no January sales. Canada, to dispose of her stock, must ship direct to New York. Therefore, even if New York may not become the world's market for furs, it may become the market for the Western Hemisphere. There is no good reason why London or any other city should be the market any longer. Europe is the natural market for Russian furs, but not American.

Since this was written a million-dollar corporation has been formed to hold three auction sales of furs a year in New York City.

Upholsteries.—The following paragraph describes the present situation in the upholstery trade:

Manufacturers of upholstery and kindred lines in this country are not as yet prepared to reach out after export business or supply deficiencies in the home market, for the reason that supplies in the way of yarns, dyes and bleaching and finishing material are themselves largely imported from the European countries now at war, and there is only sufficient stock in this country to last about three months. They are, however, trying to conserve their supplies of these materials to meet demands for materials for domestic consumption. In the lace curtain trade, not only are nets largely imported from England and France, but a large proportion of the yarns used in the domestic manufacture of net is imported. This probably means that there will be a large increase in the use of scrim, muslins, marquesttes and similar fabrics to take the place of net as a foundation for lace curtains.

House Furnishings.—Manufacturers are seeking information, but no one seems to have anything definite in mind. Here custom and prestige have much to do with the situation. America now makes cutlery as good as the German, but people persist in demanding German cutlery, which has had a reputation for years. German baskets have long been in demand, but the Japanese are cutting into this trade. American makers have not yet succeeded in matching the various baskets of certain kinds and grades.

Perhaps the greatest piece of enterprise that has come to my notice is that of a New York importer of Hartz Mountain canaries, so much in demand for Christmas. When the war broke out he sent over some of his men to get the birds and bring them back, as shipments were held up. But the men were Germans, and were caught in England and made prisoners of war. Now this importer is sending over other men, not Germans, who will attempt to go into the German market, get the canaries, and bring them out through Rotterdam, caring for them and feeding them on their way over the Atlantic.

China and Glass.—Some French shipments and English shipments are coming in, but few from Austria and Germany. The American potteries are few and only mediocre, and there are no signs of expansion or an attempt to get the market formerly supplied by Europe.

To begin with, we have not yet discovered in this country the right clay, either for very fine china or for the common china. We get from the South a certain clay that does for medium-priced porcelain or earthenware. The Government, however, is said to be searching for new deposits of clay. Neither have we the trained, skilled workman that Europe has developed after many centuries.

In glass, America leads the world—both in cut glass and in pressed glass.

Hosiery and Underwear.—Even before the war American manufacturers were selling hosiery and underwear to England and France, so there is little difficulty to replace the foreign product except in price (on some grades) and in the finer novelties.

In plain silk hosiery, now largely replacing cotton and lisle, America is the peer of the world.

In plain underwear we also excel, but we depend upon Europe for the trimmings in our novelties, and the shortage in these has caused some American mills to suspend.

Generally speaking, the American manu-

facturers of both hosiery and underwear are running at full and extra capacity now, while before the war their business was slack. But they are making only their old lines, only a few attempting to replace the foreign novelties on which there is a shortage.

Handkerchiefs.—There is enough stock on hand here and abroad and being made to last over the winter, unless shipments from Great Britain and France are blocked.

The only American substitute so far is cotton, and cotton handkerchiefs are not much in demand, as they are greatly inferior to linen.

Perfumeries.—Shipments of French perfumes are still coming into the country. But American manufacturers are making efforts to capture a larger share of the trade. The high-grade mineral oil so largely used in cold cream has heretofore been imported from Belgium, but American chemists are now working on a substitute, and it is hoped that we shall soon have an American oil to replace the imported article. Here again we meet the question of substituting the basic raw product for the basic material for even so common a thing as toilet soap comes from abroad, and as yet we have been unable to catch from the flowers in this country the subtle perfume which is captured in the foreign countries, sealed up in oil and later made into perfume. Here is a chance for a Burbank to solve the difficulty.

Leather Goods.—American manufacturers are said to be swamped with orders and are refusing even to make special designs for customers. But they are showing little originality, being satisfied, apparently, that American merchants will have to take whatever they produce. This is one great fault of the American manufacturer—he overlooks the fact that when foreign competition reopens the American people will demand novelties and there will be a market for foreign leather novelty goods, for the American manufacturer cannot produce them.

Toys; Novelties.—The great shortage will be in dolls, which are not yet produced in America as cheaply as they are made in Germany. America can substitute for most other kinds of toys better than she can for dolls. There will be no dearth of toys, for it is merely a matter of substituting different kinds, and if foreign toys are not in the market American-made will be sold. The manufacturers in general are running their factories double time to be in a position to fill

their orders, which are almost double those of any previous year. Some of them have done a lot of talking as to what they would do to manufacture goods to take the place of foreign-made. So far they have done very little in producing them.

Shoes.—Fifty-two millions of cattle hides are imported into this country each year. About two-thirds of these come from Canada, Mexico, and the South American countries. In addition this country exports quite a number of calf skins, and as this export is cut off to a certain extent there will not be a great shortage of shoe-leather in this country. The leather people are asking an advance, but the manufacturers say they have no trouble in supplying themselves for future needs at old prices, and there appears no real reason for an advance in shoes for at least another nine months, no matter how long the war may continue.

Men's Clothing and Furnishings.—There is little competition in this class of merchandise, although woollens have advanced in price on account of the shortage of raw material and dyes.

Fashions in Women's Dress.—Here we meet two much-mooted questions: Will America receive Paris fashions this autumn? and Can America produce her own fashions?

The first question is already answered in the facts regarding numerous gowns and wraps received by leading houses since the war began.

The second question will be answered when American designers show what they can do on their own initiative,—perhaps next spring, if no Paris fashions are then created. American fashions are not a question of patriotism; they are a question of genius. People in any country will have what they want so long as they have the money to buy it. Stores will furnish what people want wherever it is to be procured. This is the business of stores. It is idle to say: We will wear only American fashions in America, or that we will create our own fashions. We cannot change human nature and we cannot change the laws of trade. Woman's nature says, "I want the most artistic fashions I can find." The law of economics says the country that can produce the most artistic fashions will get woman's trade.

So far France has produced the most artistic fashions in millinery, in dresses, in wraps, in blouses, and France gets the business. It is futile to deny this. American

manufacturers would be the last to deny this, for they know how much they depend upon France for ideas and fashions and how helpless they would be without this inspiration. Really, America gets a great deal more from France than she pays for, because for every one original French dress we buy and wear in this country we copy and reproduce at least a hundred.

"Made in America" is a fine slogan, and it is fine patriotism to support home industries. But it is still finer patriotism to produce the world's finest merchandise. It is finer patriotism to create a scientific tariff that will protect American manufacturers against cheap labor abroad and enable them to produce the finest merchandise.

To do patriotic things is better than to talk patriotism. In certain cigar stores over the land I see signs that read, "Buy American-Made Goods." And when I buy a cigar there and tear off the band I find in small type underneath the gold label the words, "Made in Germany." We cannot get rid of the law of the survival of the fittest. The best and cheapest merchandise, quality for quality, will always find its market.

Conclusions.—(1) American manufacturers are undoubtedly carefully and seriously studying the situation.

(2) They are cautious in expanding, due to lack of knowledge of what to do and how to do it, to the tightness of the money market, to the partial inability at once to duplicate foreign goods and the fear of competition on these goods after the war is over and foreign industries become normal.

(3) Such expansion as is going on in American manufactures is mainly on the lines they have been making, few new lines being developed.

(4) Our inability successfully to compete with certain foreign merchandise is due at this stage of our development to

- (a) Rapid growth of the country, which tempted us to take the easiest course,—getting our basic products elsewhere instead of making them, becoming assemblers and, to an extent, copyists instead of actual makers and originators.
- (b) Lack of thoroughness in our work, caused by a character developed by our quick, strenuous, get-rich-quick way of working.
- (c) Lack of artistic and creative genius (except in mechanics and electricity), due mainly to the youth of the country. Art comes late in a nation's development.
- (d) Insistence on price before quality,—practically everything we make is made to meet a price instead of being made the best we know how to make it.
- (e) The lack of a scientific and stable tariff which will protect the investment of capital in industries that compete with foreign products.

What of the Future?—(1) "Imported" is not a fetish,—imported fashions and imported merchandise are in demand in the United States because at the moment as a rule they are superior to anything we create.

(2) To replace this imported merchandise we must at least equal it.

(3) To equal imported merchandise we must get down to its foundation and build up.

(4) Having never failed in anything it attempted, the American nation is capable of winning the world's markets by the superiority of its products, if it sets its head and heart and hands seriously, patiently, scientifically and everlastingly to the work.

The highest patriotism is to produce the goods.



THE COTTON CRISIS AT HOME AND ABROAD

BY RICHARD SPILLANE

THE cotton crop of the United States has a value normally of a thousand million dollars a year. For a century the South prided itself on the greatness of cotton. Age did not wither it or impair its virtue. No asset of man's husbandry was more secure. Throughout the world it sold for gold. As a money crop it was supreme.

One day in July last a man in Berlin sent a message to a man in St. Petersburg. Other messages were exchanged between men in Paris, London, Vienna, and Belgrade, and five European nations of the first class and two of the minor powers plunged into war. Then suddenly the impossible happened. The staple which never before had been without a market immediately became unsalable. That which was one of the most liquid of assets, the equivalent almost of gold, became a weight on the hands of its owners. Incidentally millions of persons who had given months of toil and spent millions of dollars in the planting and cultivation of what promised to be the richest crop in the history of the South were confronted with ruin.

To realize the magnitude of this commercial tragedy it is necessary to understand not only that practically every branch of endeavor in the South is affected by cotton, but that instantly the cotton-manufacturing industry of the world was demoralized, scores of cotton-traders were brought to the verge of bankruptcy, and banks and merchants, whose business was as sound as human effort can make it, had to face losses of staggering proportions.

A "SMALL FARMERS' CROP"

It is common to associate the term "cotton-planter" with large possessions, wealth, and prominence. The truth is that the bulk of the cotton crop is raised by men who rent or own comparatively few acres. In Texas, where approximately one-third of the American crop is raised, most of the farmers cultivate less than twenty acres of land. More than 90 per cent. of these farmers are whites. In Mississippi there are 110,440 farms owned

or operated by negroes. In the Carolinas the vast majority of the farms are small and the farmer is a white man. The old-time planter of lordly domain and feudal retinue is gone. There are some great plantations remaining, but most of them are conducted by corporations. The present-day "planter" is not a farmer, but a merchant or financier. He owns the land and rents it to the real farmer, usually for a share of the crop or for a certain sum per acre. The renter buys through him everything in the form of clothing, food, or household or farming supplies. To finance a group of renters from one season to another requires considerable money. The planter necessarily is a large purchaser of many kinds of goods and has open accounts with various jobbers. Not infrequently he is a borrower from the banks. All his purchases and all his borrowings are predicated on the basis of settlement when the cotton crop is marketed.

The European War started in the last days of July. The cotton year is from August 1 to July 31. When the German army raced for France, pickers were busy in Southern Texas, and the South, from Virginia to the Panhandle, was becoming white with cotton in the boll. The first few bales of the new crop were on their way to market or mill, and the South, as soon as it sold its crop, was to pay its debts for the year. The vast sum of money would go flowing through the many channels of trade.

THE SPECULATIVE MOVEMENT OF 1914

As if the war itself did not make the conditions bad enough, there were attendant circumstances that added much to the distress. The cotton exchanges perform an important function in the marketing of cotton. In addition to the trading in actual cotton, there is a vast speculative interest. There was much in the crop of 1914 to promote speculative activity. The acreage was immense and the early promise flattering for a large yield, but an excess of rain in the

west in the spring, and of dry weather in the eastern section of the belt, gave basis for reports of widespread damage. Prices rose until the October option sold above 13 cents and the prediction of many good judges was that values would go to 15 cents or higher. Then came better weather, and prices sagged, but the level was above 12 cents when the war clouds burst. In the world-wide panic that ensued, cotton dropped on July 31 to 9.70. On that day a cotton house in New York that had been the head of the bull movement suspended at 11.15 a. m., with liabilities of more than \$9,000,000. The Cotton Exchange closed a few minutes later, to save other houses from ruin. It may be a fine distinction, but it is a fact that it was this failure and not the war that closed the exchange.

Forty-five minutes after this failure was announced the Government issued its monthly bulletin on the condition of cotton. It was so surprisingly "bullish" that, had the exchange been open and no war fever, there probably would have been a sensational soaring of prices.

To add to the multitude of embarrassments there was an artificial condition which has plagued the New York exchange members ever since. One method of cotton operation that finds especial favor with English cotton men and concerns of international scope is the "straddle,"—the buying in one market and the selling in another. When the New York market closed Liverpool was "short" nearly 350,000 bales in New York. While the several millions of dollars that will be paid to the English when these accounts are settled will represent that much loss to Americans, it is doubtful whether it will offset the loss on the "long" cotton, representing the other end of the straddle, for in the chaos that came with the war not a few men who were rich have been made poor; assets that were gilt-edged have lost their gilt, and debts these men would meet with ease in other times they cannot now liquidate. A portion of the Liverpool straddle may never be unstraddled.

PATHETIC PLIGHT OF THE GROWER

Tangled and involved as are the affairs of the cotton people of the North, through failures, straddles, defaults of customers, shrinking of assets, and the suspension of business on the exchange, their troubles are light in comparison with those of the South.

At this time of the year it is customary for the towns of the Southland to be speckled

with cotton-buyers. The bargaining between seller and buyer is one of the events of the day. Thus far this season the sales are less than 10 per cent. of normal, and this has been "distress" cotton, so called because the seller is in such financial distress that he must dispose of his holdings at whatever price he can obtain. There is little bargaining in these times. The farmer drives into town with his cotton, hunts for a buyer instead of being sought by him, asks for a bid, and, if he gets one, usually is so saddened or disgusted that he drives back to his farm and stores his crop as best he can. What pathos there is in this picture! In a land of plenty an army of peace, larger perhaps than the armed force France or Germany has put into the field on the Marne or the Aisne, robbed of the fruit of a year of industry, returning to wife and children with the tale that the most useful product of the earth, next to foodstuffs, will not fetch enough money in the marts of trade to bring to its grower the price of his bread.

COTTON SELLING AT SIX CENTS A POUND

Cotton has sold at six cents a pound this season. In practically every instance where this has happened the farmer has been penalized \$20 per bale for every 500 pounds of cotton he has raised, for the cost of production is approximately ten cents a pound. Little of the cotton marketed thus far has brought eight cents. About seven and one-quarter or seven and one-half would represent the average price. If the whole crop should be disposed of on a seven-and-one-half-cent basis the net loss to the farmer would be approximately \$200,000,000.

Remember, cotton is a poor man's crop. His debts, if he cannot meet them, hang over to be swelled by interest and burden him in the year or years following. His buying power is curtailed. The man who gave credit to him suffers, and the creditors of the man who financed the farmer have reason to worry. The ramifications extend through all the avenues of business. Various projects have been suggested or launched to relieve the situation. In all of these there is more or less merit. Unfortunately there has not been such unison in or scope to these undertakings as to promise success. The problem is too complex and too big, apparently, for solution in the present strained condition in trade and finance.

Broadly speaking the problem is this:

The crop, according to the latest estimate of the Government, will be 15,300,000 bales.

In 1913 it was 14,518,000. Of the crop of 1913 American mills took 5,652,000 bales, Great Britain 3,419,000, France 1,059,000, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Italy, Russia, and Scandinavia 4,013,000, Mexico 28,000, and Japan 347,000.

A SURPLUS OF FOUR MILLION BALES

There is no doubt that American consumption will be increased this year. It may reach 7,000,000 bales. That would test the capacity of the mills. There is no doubt Spain and Italy will increase their takings, but their limits of textile expansion are not large. Japan is buying in larger volume than formerly, but cannot use much more than half a million bales of our cotton. England is buying sparingly. It is not believed the English consumption will exceed two-thirds of last season's takings. What Belgium and Holland will take is guesswork. The same applies to Germany and Austria. If the present embargo on their ports is not lifted, their importations must be negligible. Russia is making arrangements to get some of our cotton. France is expected to take half a million bales. Everything depends on the war developments. Peace negotiations by Christmas would create a decided demand, but the consensus of opinion is that if the war continues until next summer or longer there will be a surplus of 4,000,000 bales.

THE "BUY-A-BALE" CAMPAIGN

This surplus of 4,000,000 bales is the nub of the whole trouble. If it can be taken care of, enough can be realized from the rest of the crop to save the South from distress. Cotton plays so important a part in maintaining the credit balance in our foreign trade that the subject assumes a national aspect, aside from the interest, commercial and otherwise, one section of the Republic has in the well-being of another. The Secretary of the Treasury, in view of the delay in the organization of the Federal Reserve Board, agreed to issue emergency currency under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act to banks of the South, with warehouse receipts for cotton as the basis of the issue. The response of the banks to this move has not been so cordial as expected. Cotton, instead of stiffening in price, has had a tendency to weakness. A syndicate of Middle Western and Southern bankers is said to have a purpose of financing the surplus and holding it out of the market. Such an undertaking requires a lot of money and courage.

A Southern newspaper started a campaign based on sentiment, which has had much publicity. It is the "Buy-a-Bale" movement. The purchaser pays ten cents a pound,—\$50 a bale,—for cotton and agrees to hold the cotton for six months. Many persons have gone into the plan with the most worthy intentions and some have taken advantage of the opportunity for advertising purposes to promote their business. Others have seen a possibility of profit, although that is remote. Like most campaigns based on sentiment, this one was loosely organized, and there is doubt of its doing much ultimate good.

FINANCING COTTON LOCALLY

A country banker in Georgia launched a project that may prove of benefit. It is for the farmers to place their cotton in accepted warehouses, give their notes for, say, \$40 a bale, and, when the cotton is insured and approved by a selected public official, banks of the county or community will cash the notes, issuing against them warehouse warrants which will be accepted by merchants as legal tender. It is the privilege of the farmer to sell his cotton, take up his note and the warrants issued against it at any time he desires, when he can do so at a profit. Through this scheme it is possible for each county or group of cotton counties to finance its cotton and not let it be sacrificed.

"COTTON BALLS"

And the women,—particularly the women of the South and the women of Southern birth residing in the North,—have launched relief measures of real worth. They have started an agitation for the wider use of cotton goods, and, believing that nothing is more potent than example, they have entered into a pledge to wear, so far as possible, garments made of cotton. The "Cotton Ball" in Washington, in which the wives, the daughters, and the female members of all the officials of the Government stationed at the capital appeared in gowns made entirely of cotton, was a revelation of the beautiful effects in which cotton can be fashioned. The ladies related to the members of the Southern Society of New York are to give a "Cotton Ball" at the Waldorf-Astoria on November 12 that promises to be the great social event of the season.

Throughout the South and Middle West merchants, responsive to the urgings of patriotic women, are holding cotton sales and telling the public they will aid the South by

using more cotton materials. Sentiment is wonderfully effective. America never knew so much about the virtue of cotton as it knows to-day, and was never more eager to promote its use.

But while these plans and others have been forming, much time has elapsed. Countless bolls of cotton have been picked over by the field-hands and the weight of the crop is about to be felt. Every day makes the situation more acute.

INCREASING COST OF PRODUCTION

Few commodities have been so erratic in price as cotton. Within the last sixteen years it has sold as low as five cents a pound and as high as twenty cents. To the grain producer dollar wheat spells prosperity. Dollar wheat is equivalent to thirteen-cent cotton in the return to the producer. The cost of producing cotton has increased greatly in the last fifteen years. In 1899 six cents covered the farmer's expense. To-day, through the wider utilization of fertilizer, the increased cost of all commodities, the higher price paid for cotton picking, the great advance in cost of horses and mules, the cost of production is figured at ten cents a pound.

To estimate the return to the South on the basis of the high or low or the average price in any one cotton year would not be accurate. Cotton has been the speculative football of many financial adventurers. Generally the high prices have been touched in the tail of the crop, when the amount to come forward has been relatively small. Generally the farmer has received less than the average price of the season.

THE MANUFACTURER, TOO, HAS LOST HEAVILY

In the great mass of discussion over the problem of the cotton-farmer little consideration has been given to the cotton-spinner, yet he has troubles that are serious. Last season was not a profitable one. The consumption of cotton was the largest on record, but toward the end of the cotton year trade was poor, the mills had difficulty in disposing of their goods, except at a loss, and many of them had large stocks of their product on hand. With a perpendicular drop in price of from thirteen cents to nearly seven cents in the price of raw cotton, the manufacturers find difficulty in disposing of their goods, except at figures that are ruinous. The disorganization of trade and finance makes it hard for them to collect outstanding accounts or borrow on reasonable terms

money to cover purchases in large quantity of cotton at prevailing prices. The situation in the South is so tender that any effort to buy in volume sends prices soaring. There is no stability. Prices vary according to the sentiment in various localities. In fact, the whole machinery through which the cotton crop has been marketed has been disarranged.

Without the regular exchanges doing business, everyone shifts for himself. Cotton unquestionably is cheap, but with the tremendous volume of the crop still to come on the market and little support in evidence, no one knows whether prices will break to figures never expected to be seen again or whether, by an early ending of the war or through the success of some one of the plans for relief, the crisis will be bridged over and prices will advance. The prudent man buys only what he can handle without trouble and is content to await developments.

EGYPT AND INDIA EVEN WORSE OFF

Serious as is the outlook of the cotton farmer of America, and uncertain as is the prospect of the spinner, it is not so bad as in Egypt or India. Cotton plays a more important part in the affairs of Egypt than it does in our South. Egypt depends on it practically for everything. The Egyptian cotton is long staple, and of finer quality than the American. If Egypt does not get assistance it means financial collapse and destitution. The British Government may find it necessary to extend assistance. In India cotton has been growing in importance year by year. The crop this year is big. The planters must get aid from bankers or the government or both or there will be an utter collapse.

EUROPE'S COTTON CENTERS OVERSTOCKED

To add to the gravity of the outlook, the European spinners, in addition to the chaos brought on by the war, are loaded up with manufactured goods and have had their markets taken from them in part, if not wholly. France has three important cotton-manufacturing centers. One is in the department of the Nord, the mills being bunched about Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing. Although there has been much fighting near by, the mills have not been damaged so far as is known. There is another cotton district in the Vosges. The third is at Rouen, Normandy.

Germany has many cotton plants. Augsburg and the Hof Bamberg districts in Bavaria have been called the Manchester of

Germany. There are various mills at Mulhausen, in Alsace, the largest being owned by the Dreyfus family, of which the famous Captain Dreyfus, of the French army, whose trial was an international affair, is a member. At Thann, Wesserling, and Rothau, which also are in Alsace, there are mills. There are very large mills at Chemnitz and Werdau, in Saxony, and Stuttgart, in Wurtemberg. Baden is a big cotton center and Gronau and Rheine, in Westphalia, Munchen-Gladbach, Rheydt, and Cologne, in the Rhine province, and elsewhere much cotton is consumed.

THE SITUATION IN AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA

Austria probably is in a worse fix than any other European nation, so far as cotton is concerned. There are mills of enormous size in Vienna, and there is a considerable mill industry in Prague and Reichenberg, in Bohemia. By reason of the Balkan War, Austrian mills suffered severely, a considerable volume of Austria's textile production being sold in the Balkan district. Now the nation is struggling for its life in the greatest war in its history; its financial straits are extreme and the business is prostrated.

Russia has great mills at Petrograd, Moscow, and Lodz. Its consumption of cotton is large. It raises some cotton in the Caucasus, but it buys a good deal of American growth.

THE NEUTRAL COUNTRIES, BELGIUM, AND ENGLAND

Italy has mills of importance at Milan, Turin, Genoa, and Naples. These are in position to work to advantage, owing to Italy's neutrality, and should take more American cotton than before.

Spain has mills at Barcelona and Malaga. What has been said of Italy applies also to Spain. Switzerland has mills at Basle and Zurich. The Swiss should use more cotton than usual.

Holland has mills at Enschede. The Dutch find a market for most of their production at home or in the Dutch colonies, but if German mills cannot get cotton the Dutch are likely to be drawn on to supply part of Germany's needs.

The Belgians had mills at Ghent and Alost. In the destruction of Alost the mills were wiped out, but the mills of Ghent have 1,000,000 spindles. Belgium's cotton trade has been at home and in the Congo.

England's mills, as everyone knows, are in the Lancashire district principally.

A DEMORALIZED INDUSTRY

Few, if any, of the Continental mills made money last year. Some of them have six months' production in their storehouses unsold. The biggest mill in Belgium, for example, on May 31 had a stock of manufactured goods on hand representing 8,000,000 francs, while the capital of the mill is 10,000,000 francs.

The reports from England are that the cotton-manufacturing situation is bad, but on the Continent it is worse. Not only is the industry demoralized, but traffic is disarranged, finances are paralyzed, and mill organizations are dispersed through millhands being called to war.

In view of all this no one can tell what European takings of cotton will be. The people must be clothed. The stocks in the mills will be disposed of somewhere. More goods must be made. Despite the tremendous money waste of the war and the killing or maiming of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of men, a fair number of mills will be kept in operation.

LANCASHIRE'S DISTRESS IN OUR CIVIL WAR

There is not likely to be such fearful distress in Lancashire, the cotton-manufacturing center of Great Britain, as there was during our Civil War. It is odd but it is true that the prostration of the English textile industry then was owing to a surplus and not a shortage of cotton. The South, in seceding from the Union, figured that Great Britain, whose command of the cotton-manufacturing business then was absolute, would be forced to recognize the Confederacy in order to save its cotton industry, or, if the blockade of Southern ports to prevent the exportation of cotton to England was persisted in by the North, Great Britain would be dragged into the war.

The truth was that the spinners of Lancashire welcomed the war. They had immense stocks of cotton goods on hand when Sumter was fired on and their stock of raw material was 1,500,000 bales,—an enormous amount in those days. The Civil War came just as an era of wild expansion of cotton manufacturing had ended and a collapse was beginning. The war served to increase not only the value of the big stock of goods on hand but also of the mountain of raw material. Instead of facing bankruptcy the British spinners made fortunes. They curtailed production and the price of cotton goods rose to unheard of figures. The price of raw cotton, too, went to 62 cents a pound.

Meanwhile tens of thousands of cotton operatives in and about Lancashire were reduced almost to starvation. Nearly 200,000 persons in Lancashire were receiving relief from the guardians of the poor at one time. Thousands of others were supported by private charity.

The amazing thing is that throughout all their long period of suffering the mill hands were ardent in their advocacy of the Northern cause. They looked upon the war as one for suffering humanity and they bore their share of the burden with a bravery that has few parallels. One of the dramatic touches to this remarkable situation was the sending by a New York philanthropist, George Griswold, of a shipload of flour to the starving mill people. When the ship reached Liverpool the government refused to accept any of the customary dues; stevedores, pilot, tug men,—everyone offered their services without pay and the food was rushed to Manchester. At least two more cargoes of flour went from New York to the patient, poor, but brave mill hands and then, happily, times began to brighten.

To-day Lancashire has more than double the mill capacity of 1861. In 1911, according to the English Census, 605,177 persons were employed in and about cotton mills in England. The condition of the British cotton trade is giving concern to the King's government but there is no fear of anything calamitous. One thing that will militate against American cotton, however, is that so far as possible, British mills will use Egyptian cotton in the present crisis. They must do this,—for Egypt is British and Egypt's plight is desperate.

ADVANTAGES OF THE AMERICAN SPINNER

In the natural order of things, American mills must be benefited by the woes of the European spinners. New trade, new markets, will be opened to American-made cotton goods! Heretofore America has exported only 5 per cent. of its cotton manufactures. The usual answer to the riddle of why this is so is that American labor is so highly paid in comparison with foreign labor that American mills cannot compete successfully with their European rivals. But America always has had advantages that should offset or compensate for this fact.

The items of ocean freight, marine insurance, and tare make the European spinner pay in excess of one to two cents a pound more for his cotton than the American does. It is not true that European mill-hands are better

than American. The reverse is the fact. Most of the European mill labor is low grade. There was a strike in one of the mills of Ghent because an American weaver employed there did so much work that it shocked the other hands. He did three times as much as the Belgian average, and the mill-owners had to discharge him before the others would return to duty. Foreign labor is cheaper,—decidedly cheaper. On the Continent a mill-hand has to be rated good to get 80 cents a day, but he is below the average of the American worker in every branch of his trade.

REDUCING NEXT SEASON'S CROP

With a realization of what a surplus of 4,000,000 bales from the present crop threatens, and with the fear that the European war may last a long time, there has been an agitation to curtail the planting of cotton next season so radically that the bulk of the two crops will equal only the needs of the two years, and the excess therefore will be wiped out. Some effort has been made to prevent the planting of any cotton. Appeals have been made to the legislatures of some Southern States to enact prohibitory laws covering the subject.

There is not likely to be any such legislation, and natural laws no doubt will prove sufficient to regulate the size of the crop of next year. In fact, no one can tell what the size of this season's crop will be. If prices stiffen a bit it may come up to or exceed the Government estimate. If prices decline it is likely to be smaller, for cotton that would make many thousands of bales will, in that event, not be picked, because picking costs money, and broken and disheartened farmers will abandon fields which in better times they would pick clean.

Unquestionably the American cotton manufacturer has an opportunity through the cheapness of cotton and the wreckage of Europe's trade to develop markets into which he never ventured before. If he plays his part well he should profit greatly.

FINDING NEW USES FOR COTTON GOODS

And, dark as the outlook is for the American cotton-grower now, there is a bright spot that has not received the attention it deserves. The greatness of the cotton-growing industry of America has come from adversity. Through surplus production cotton has found new avenues of use. This is not the first time the crop of the South has sold much below the cost of production. No

doubt it would be to the lasting advantage of the South if its agriculturists learned to diversify more with their crops, but nevertheless, for every excess crop the South has given the world, the South ultimately has prospered greatly.

In the late '90s cotton sold at prices so low that the South was in a desperate financial condition. There was widespread agitation to curtail production. But, unknown to the cotton men, the cheapness of cotton set forces at work for cotton that put it into employments of which the cotton-grower never dreamed. The stuff was so cheap and there was so much of it that bright minds discovered ways in which it could be used advantageously. The forests of America were beginning to feel the drain of the axman and the mills. Flour men who had put their products in barrels found barrel-staves and hoops advancing so much in price that some substitute had to be utilized. Gradually the cotton sack displaced the wooden barrel as the container for flour. Then the makers of cement followed the example of the makers of flour.

Someone discovered that tobacco did remarkably well when grown under shade. That resulted in thousands of acres of tobacco land being screened from the sun's rays by hoods of cotton. Wallpaper manufacturers found that cotton was cheaper than the material they were using in the making of wall decorations. Then the automobile came into fashion. That gave a tremendous impetus to the rubber trade and also created a great demand for cotton,—for cotton plays almost as large a part as rubber in the making of a tire. The extension of the telephone and the trolley created another avenue for the use of cheap cotton. All the telephone wires that are indoors or in cables are insulated. Cotton is one of the chief articles used in covering the wire. The hose used in the airbrake is made largely of cotton.

Without the cotton-grower of the South knowing it, the surplus that had hung over the cotton market was absorbed by industries that formerly had little or no use for cotton. Once cotton was introduced into these industries its uses broadened steadily. Everything seemed to favor cotton. Most of the governments of the world decided that the old woolen uniforms of soldiers were not the best for their service. Khaki was substituted. Khaki is largely cotton. The makers of belting found that cotton suited them very well. It is so, too, with agricultural machinery. The International Har-

vester Company now buys hundreds of thousands of bales of cotton annually to make aprons, carriers, and elevators for its reapers, binders, headers, and thrashers. The price of hides rose so high that leather men discovered it would be to their advantage to make imitation leather goods. These are largely cotton.

Who can doubt that cotton will find a multitude of new uses because of its present cheapness? The Amoskeag Mills are building the largest bag factory in the world to make cotton bags for a service in which other goods formerly entered into the making. Cotton is to replace jute in various articles, even in the bagging that makes the cover of the cotton bale. The best flax in the world is raised in Belgium and Northern France. Through the destruction of this flax crop there will be a pronounced demand for cotton to replace it.

THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

As a direct result of the war a fair amount of cotton will be required for military supplies and hospital equipment. Recently New England mills received orders for 300,000 yards of cotton duck for export,—presumably for tents. France has ordered 500,000 yards of crash. Many hurry orders are expected, as there is urgent need for sheets, blankets that are part cotton, pajamas for the wounded in hospitals, bandages, gun cotton and a multitude of other articles into which cotton enters.

When cotton is low in price it captures new kingdoms. And those it captures it retains. The crop of 1914 may not be the disaster to the South that it seems at present. The variety of bills introduced into Congress for governmental aid to the cotton farmers were not taken seriously by men of consequence in the trade. The Senate measures for the purchase of cotton by the Government at not more than ten cents a pound, and the limiting of next year's crop by prohibitive taxation, are economically unsound and dangerous in precedent.

Immeasurably more good may be expected from the project of the western and southern bankers to which reference has been made. The plan has met with such favor that there is no doubt of the \$150,000,000 desired being oversubscribed. New York financiers have gone into this syndicate with confidence. The proposal is to lend on the basis of six cents a pound, middling cotton. That would establish a price below which cotton would not decline and would save the market from its chief danger—demoralization.

ITALY AND THE WAR

BY T. LOTHROP STODDARD

OF all the many surprises which have startled the world since the outbreak of the great European war, perhaps the most unexpected has been the attitude of Italy. In those tense days preceding the outbreak of hostilities, when ever-darkening storm clouds heralded an inevitable catastrophe, the world at large counted on Italian aid to Germany and Austria almost as a matter of course, and "Triple Alliance versus Triple Entente" was the dictum of the day.

Then suddenly, on August 3, came Italy's declaration of neutrality, the Italian Government prefacing this action by formal notice to the German ambassador that it did not regard its obligations as a member of the Triple Alliance as compelling it to assist Germany and Austria-Hungary in what Italy regarded as an offensive war. The momentous nature of this step was everywhere recognized, and it was judged in accordance with the fears or hopes of the several commentators. In Germany and Austria the news was received with wrathful indignation, albeit the rising tide of popular invective against Italy's "treason" was quickly checked by official pressure, the Austrian and German governments confining themselves to a strong but discreet protest. England, France and Russia, on the other hand, greeted the welcome tidings with exuberant delight and began an official and non-official campaign to sweep Italy over to the Allies' side, scarcely a day passing without its crop of French or English press-rumors that Italy is about to enter the lists against its quondam political partners.

In view both of the extreme importance of Italian neutrality and the even greater significance of a possible Italian coöperation with the Allies, it seems fitting to attempt a brief analysis of the following outstanding features in the situation:—(1) The origin and character of the "Triple Alliance" of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; (2) Its internal and external development; (3) Italy's present attitude; (4) The chief factors influencing Italy's future policy.

When in September, 1870, King Victor Emmanuel's soldiers entered Rome, Italian unity in the ordinary sense of the term was

complete, and the entire peninsula at last formed a single sovereign state,—the "Kingdom of Italy." For ten years the French Emperor Napoleon III had upheld the Pope's temporal power over Rome by a French garrison, but after Sedan this garrison had hurried home to meet the Prussian invaders of France, whereupon King Victor Emmanuel had instantly cut the Gordian knot of Papal Sovereignty by seizing defenseless Rome and making it the Italian capital.

WHY THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE SEEMED NECESSARY TO EUROPE

Nevertheless, Italian unity had wounded so many different interests, domestic and foreign, that the new kingdom was exposed to more than one danger whose perilous possibilities were enhanced by Italy's diplomatic isolation. Austria could not be expected to forget in a day those fair provinces Lombardy and Venetia, ceded to Italy after the Austro-Italian wars of 1859 and 1866 respectively, and her natural desire for revenge was stimulated by both the clamor of dispossessed Italian princelets at their Hapsburg relative's hospitable court and the Pope's appeals to Catholic Austria to rescue the Holy See from Piedmontese despoilers of Peter's patrimony. Indeed, the "Roman Question" threatened to bring down on United Italy not merely the old Austrian enemy but the recent French ally as well. For in France the Radical "Government of the National Defense" which had smiled upon the Italian occupation of Rome had quickly given way to the Royalist and Catholic "Assembly of Bordeaux," and Thiers, France's Chief Executive, had long been the avowed enemy of Italian unity. For more than a decade, indeed, the Young Kingdom of Italy was in extreme peril, standing as it did without a single ally in face of militant Catholicism both abroad and at home.

Under these circumstances it is not strange that Italy, keenly sensible of her isolation, should have sought allies. And this, be it noted, not merely for defense against the Roman peril. Delicate as was the internal situation, it is characteristic of the buoyant

spirit of Young Italy that even in these first critical years its statesmen had a robust optimism in the high destinies of their country and longed to realize its ambitious aspirations. Indeed, the danger was that these same aspirations, from their diverse and far-reaching nature, might expose Italy to disaster.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Italy's foreign ambitions may be grouped under two main heads,—the nationalist and the colonial. During these early years, however, national aspirations occupied the center of the stage. This school of thought may be summed up in the word "Irredentism." By the occupation of Rome in 1870 Italian political unity had been arrived at. Italian racial unity, however, was by no means attained. Beyond Italy's historic frontiers lay a whole fringe of Italian or Italianized populations: French Corsica, Savoy and Nice; Swiss Ticino; English Malta; Austrian Trentino and Trieste. The nationalist exaltation of the recent wars of liberation had so fired the Italian people that the political union of historic Italy seemed but the first step towards a greater union of the whole Italian race by the political incorporation of all outlying fragments, to which were given the significant term "Italia Irredenta" or "Unredeemed Italy."

Of course the "redemption" of French, Swiss, and English possessions was for the moment a mere pious aspiration outside the bounds of practical politics. The question of Trentino and Trieste, however, appeared quite a different matter. Lying as did these districts just beyond the Italian frontier, they seemed the natural appendages of newly "redeemed" Lombardy-Venetia; in addition to which this same redemption had aroused among the Trent and Trieste populations themselves a strong desire for annexation to Italy. Accordingly the '70's were filled with a whole series of Irredentist "incidents," culminating in the "Oberdank affair," when Austria and Italy seemed for a moment on the brink of war over Austria's execution of a Trieste Irredentist agitator convicted of conspiracy against Emperor Francis Joseph's life.

Strange though it may appear in the light of the Oberdank flurry, however, the foundations of that "Triple Alliance" which was to bind Italy to Austria had already been laid down, and like so many apparent inconsistencies, this *Triplice* was based upon sound considerations which, as far as Italy was con-

cerned, rested upon that other basic factor of her foreign policy, the colonial question.

ITALY'S COLONIAL POLICY

From the very beginning of national life Italian statesmen had ear-marked certain nearby lands as necessary areas of Italian colonization. The most important of these regions were Albania and Tunis; the former lying just across the southern neck of the Adriatic sea, the latter actually within sight of Sicily. Both Tunis and Albania were so weak and barbarous that they could not long stand alone, but for strategic and economic reasons their occupation by strong European powers would constitute an Italian disaster of the first magnitude. Yet the Berlin Congress of 1878 showed that Albania was already menaced by just such an eventuality. Austria had then acquired the stewardship of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which took Albania in flank, while Austria's police-control over the Montenegrin coast gave her a distinct foothold on the Albanian littoral as well. Italy's vain protests against these innovations had merely exposed her political weakness and isolation.

All this convinced thinking Italians that colonial rather than irredentist considerations should guide Italy's foreign policy. "Italia irredenta" was a fixed quantity which might be left to the favor of circumstances, but Albania and Tunis were not naturally Italian and could be made so only by the undivided efforts of Italian diplomacy. The trouble was that these lands were menaced by different nations,—Albania by Austria, Tunis by France already entrenched in Algeria along most of Tunis' land frontier. Now Italy's rebuff at the Berlin Congress had taught her that if she remained isolated she could hinder neither France nor Austria in their possible designs. The obvious step for Italy, therefore, was to ally herself with one or the other, thereby checking her ally by friendship while menacing the other with her increased diplomatic force. The question now was which was the better ally, both France and Austria having their partisans.

The uncertainty of this period and the reasons making for an Austrian alliance are alike fully explained by Signor Marselli, a well-known Italian thinker of that day: "Let us in all clearness put to ourselves the following question: Since the very force of circumstances is drawing Austria toward Salonika and France along the North African coast; since, furthermore, Italy cannot oppose both at once; which of the two is our

greater danger? For answer we need only glance at a map of the Mediterranean to understand that our greatest danger is France installed opposite Sicily, our outpost, which would thereby become an outpost inevitably lost in case of war. The Egean Sea is far, but the narrow waters between Marsala and Cape Bon are really the Straits of Sicily."

It was thus no mere question of pique which threw Italy into the arms of Austria and Germany after the French seizure of Tunis in 1881, especially if we recollect that French public opinion, still largely Catholic in tone, continued to demand a Papal restoration at Rome. Italy by no means gave up hope of expelling France from Tunis,—that "Italian colony guarded by French soldiers" as the Italian statesman Crispi put it, and though neither Germany nor Austria possessed a navy worthy of the name Italy presently supplemented her land strength by one of those clever "combinazioni" so dear to the subtle diplomacy of the "Consulta."

FORTUNES OF THE "TRIPLICE"

The ink of the Triple Alliance signatures was scarcely dry when the bombardment of Alexandria and the British occupation of Egypt opened that colonial feud between France and England which brought them to the verge of war over Fashoda in 1898 and which was not healed till the year 1904. Italy at once took advantage of this state of things to approach England, and about 1890 an Anglo-Italian instrument was signed whose terms, though never officially published, certainly dealt with Tunis in case of an Anglo-French war, besides assuring those Italian claims on Tripoli enforced in 1911 by the Italo-Turkish war. It must further be remembered that till the close of the Nineteenth Century Anglo-German relations were good. Italy thus occupied the enviable position of connecting-link between the great military powers of Central Europe and the Mistress of the Seas. Evidently, then, throughout this period the Triple Alliance was a perfectly sound diplomatic instrument, commanding as it did the support and confidence of the Italian people. This was best proven by the exceeding badness of Franco-Italian relations, with the long tariff-war from 1888 to 1899 and such outbursts of race-hatred as the massacre of Italians at Aigues-Mortes (Southern France) in 1893.

The year 1898, however, marks the Triple Alliance's apogee; from then on begins that rapid disintegration which at war's crucial touch

has reduced the famous instrument to a second "scrap of paper." In 1899 the Boer War showed England the perils of "splendid isolation," while the meteoric rise of industrial and commercial Germany brought home the danger to British economic supremacy. The result was the Anglo-French "entente" of 1904. This diplomatic revolution made a quick shift of Italian policy an absolute necessity. Friendship with maritime England was as vital to the Italian "combinazione" as alliance with military Austria and Germany, especially since Italy now possessed Red Sea colonies, Levantine aspirations and an English first-mortgage on Tripoli;—all of which would be jeopardized by an Anglo-Italian war. Besides which, Italy's relations with Austria were of themselves becoming decidedly cool. The rift in the lute had appeared in 1897, when Russia, seeing herself fairly launched in her Far-East Manchurian adventure, secured her Balkan rear by the Austro-Russian "Muerzsteg Convention," whereby Russia recognized Austria's "special interest" in the western part of the Balkan peninsula, including, of course, Albania. Austria quickly showed that she was determined to profit by this agreement with her traditional Balkan rival, and Albania was soon honeycombed with Austrian propaganda.

GROWING COOLNESS BETWEEN ITALY AND AUSTRIA

It is quite clear how all this cut at the very roots of Austro-Italian cordiality. Italy had allied herself with Austria largely to forestall by mutual forbearance a progress which she did not feel strong enough to check by arms; a policy described by Crispi in his saying that Italy must be either Austria's close friend or bitter enemy. But if Austria were striking for Albania wherein lay the virtue of her alliance for Italy?—especially since Tunis was now irrevocably lost by the make-up of England and France.

Furthermore, Italy had been greatly disappointed by the Triple Alliance's economic results. It is a fact generally (but most short-sightedly) overlooked that the Italian statesmen who made the Triple Alliance had expected other advantages besides diplomatic and military backing from the Central European powers. Crispi and his followers had hit on the secret of Venice's former prosperity;—the fact that the Signorial Republic had been the starting point of that great Medieval trade-route over the Brenner Pass to the valleys of the Danube and the Rhine. It had been Crispi's hope to form a Central Euro-



pean "Zollverein," or tariff union, wherein Italy, as the middleman between Levant and Teutonic North, should stride forthwith into the first rank among the commercial powers of the earth. Instead of which ambitious commercial Germany was pushing Italy hard in her very Levantine preserves while Austria was building a merchant-marine which threatened Italy's Adriatic supremacy.

With these several facts in mind it is not strange that the last ten years have witnessed an increasing hostility between these nominal allies and that the Irredentist note, formerly almost silenced, has increased to a shrill challenge of angry defiance. The frantic enthu-

siasm which greeted d'Annunzio's "La Nave," ("The Ship"), with its passionate cry of "Mare nostro,"—"Our (Adriatic) Sea," and the great sensation made by Signor Pellegrini's warlike book "Verso la Guerra," ("Towards War"), have revealed the intensity of anti-Austrian feeling in Italy during recent years.

And the Austrian press has naturally retorted in kind. The following words of the Austrian admiral Chiari, published in that leading Viennese military organ, *Danzer's Armeezeitung*, some three years ago, have a very pertinent ring to-day: "It is certain that we have to reckon with a war on several

fronts. Without hesitation one can prophesy that our ally in peace will be our enemy in war, that Italy will be found on the side of our enemies rather than on our side, and that we shall have to meet the combined armies of Russia, Servia, Montenegro, and Italy."

DID GERMANY AND AUSTRIA EXPECT ITALY'S AID?

With such an inflamed state of Italian public opinion it seems extremely unlikely that the German and Austrian governments, despite their diplomatic appeals and protests, really expected Italy's aid in the present war. The facts in the case have been known and widely discussed for years by serious journals throughout Europe, and it is almost a diplomatic axiom that a great war cannot be risked in face of popular condemnation. That arch-realist Bismarck laid down just this dictum, and foresaw the very case in point as well. In that political testament "*Gedanken und Erinnerungen*" ("Reflections and Reminiscences"), Bismarck wrote, "All contracts between great States cease to be unconditionally binding as soon as they are tested by the struggle for existence. No great nation will ever be induced to sacrifice its existence on the altar of treaty fidelity. To-day it is hardly possible for the government of a great power to place its resources at the disposal of a friendly state when the sentiment of the people disapproves of it. The clause, *rebus sic stantibus*, is tacitly understood to apply to all treaties which involve performance. The Triple Alliance no more constitutes a foundation capable of offering perennial resistance to time and change than did the numerous other Triple and Quadruple Alliances which preceded it." Finally, whether or not one agrees with Bismarck as to the theoretical sanctity of positive treaty obligations, the fact remains that it was a practical impossibility for the Italian government to have assisted its nominal allies in the present struggle. The dangerous internal disorders of last June have clearly shown the fragility of the present Italian régime: to have risked the country's future in an unpopular war would have meant certain and instant revolution.

WILL ITALY JOIN THE ALLIES?

The question now remains whether Italy will remain neutral or whether she will join the Allies. On the whole, sound policy would seem to dictate a continuance of Italian neutrality. In the first place neutral Italy occupies an unrivaled diplomatic position as the one great European power free

from the scourge of war; herself intact while her neighbors are tearing one another to pieces. Every day that passes leaves Italy both relatively and absolutely stronger, and this increasing prosperity will enable her to liquidate the heavy Tripolitan legacy and to allay that acute internal crisis which only last June brought her within an ace of the social revolution.

Again, it is difficult to see what moral right Italy would have to begin an unprovoked attack upon a neighbor still technically her ally. Those Italians now clamoring for a war of spoliation against Austria would do well to remember that national good-faith is not only a virtue but a most valuable political asset as well. A wanton attack upon Austria would be a diplomatic bankruptcy which would ruin Italy's credit in the alliance-market of the world. Of course the Allies would receive her with open arms;—yet with those mental reservations always extended the traitor, whether simple soldier or powerful nation.

And then, disregarding all internal or moral considerations, is it so certain that Italian interests would be best served by the entire overthrow of Germany and Austria? It is quite clear that Italy would expect nothing less than Trentino, Trieste and Albania, yet it is by no means so clear that she would actually get the last two. Trentino, of course, would be hers; this compact group of 400,000 Italians just across her border would clash with no other Allied interest. But it is by no means impossible that Italy will get Trentino by simply sitting still. The loss of this bit of South Tyrol would be no serious blow to Austria, and it is not at all unlikely that Vienna may agree to cede it as the price of Italian neutrality.

THE DALMATIAN LITTORAL

Trieste is quite a different matter. The long Dalmatian coast-land, with its great sea-ports and splendid war-havens, is a prize which Austria could never surrender, since to do so would be to shut herself off from the sea and thus commit economic suicide by asphyxiation. Of course the triumph of the Allies will mean the disruption of Austria-Hungary as we now know it, but this would also involve the erection of a great Serbo-Croat state of from twelve to fifteen million souls, itself the inevitable ally of an infinitely more powerful Russian Empire, just as Servia and Montenegro are the clients of Russia to-day. And right here lies Italy's peril. Those four hundred miles of Dalma-

tian coast so passionately claimed by many Italians as Irredentist ground are claimed with equal passion by Serb and Croat as their natural outlet to the sea;—a claim greatly strengthened by the fact that the population is mainly Serbo-Croat to-day. The entire Dalmation coast counts less than 400,000 Italians, mostly concentrated in the towns, elsewhere scattered in the thinnest of fringes along the isles and headlands and hard pressed by the solid Slav mass of the Serbo-Croat Hinterland. When we see the present results of the vendetta sworn by pigmy Serbia against Austria for the latter's veto of Serb aspirations to an Adriatic outlet, we may well ask how long Italy could hold the Dalmatian littoral against a Greater Serbia and its Russian backer. Many years ago that noted pan-Slavist the Russian General Gurko was asked how far Russia would go. "To the Isonzo," was the prompt reply. The Isonzo is the frontier river of Italy. Indeed, many Italians have perceived the Slav danger to their Adriatic aspirations. Some years since a deputy roused marked applause in the Italian Chamber by asserting:

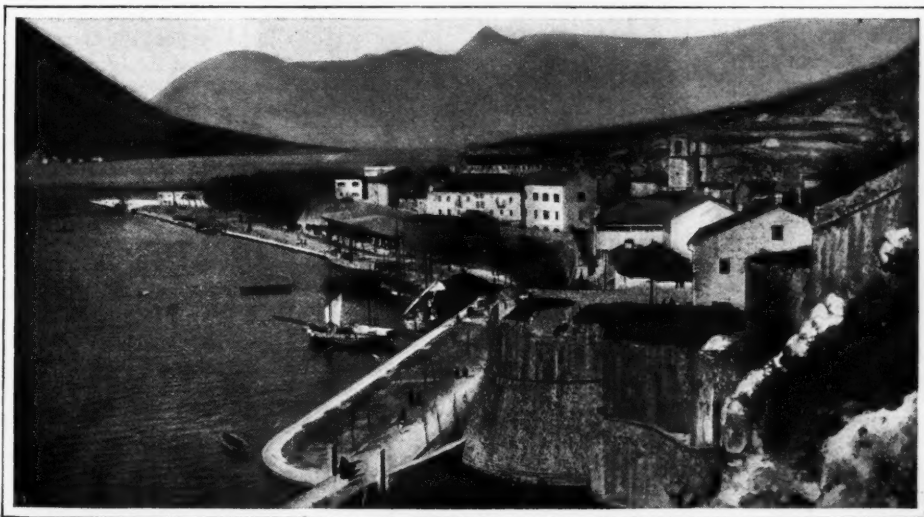
Between Austria and ourselves, despite many points of difference, there exists one certain identity of interest. A great peril overhangs her eastern frontier; a peril so colossal that it may one day roll to the Adriatic.

And what is true of the Dalmatian coast applies equally to Albania. Less than two years ago the peace of Europe was jeopardized by Serbia's determination to hold this very territory, and though the desperate efforts of the Triplician powers (including

most emphatically Italy herself) forced the Serb to relax his grip, Serbia's "economic outlet" on the Albanian coast assures a Slav foothold which a Greater Serbia will certainly not fail to improve. Really, it does not seem a very far cry to an Italo-Slav war if Italy shall maintain her oft-expressed determination to fight rather than see Albania in other than Italian hands.

WOULD A TRIUMPH OF THE ALLIES FURTHER ITALY'S INTERESTS?

Finally, looking at the larger political and economic aspects of the problem, is it so certain that Italy's future is bound up with the decisive triumph of the Allies? Whatever else the present war may signify, it means as far as the Western protagonists are concerned a struggle between contented and discontented powers; a grapple between nations largely satisfied with the economic and colonial present and nations which (come late into the world) desire a larger "place in the sun." But Italy has also come late into the world; she also desires outlets for her products and her teeming population; she also has her "Nationalists," whose calls for aggressive foreign policies and complete race-reunion are as imperious as those of the most extreme section of the Pan-German league. True, Italy cannot wish for a decisive victory of those Teutonic powers her keen rivals in the past; nevertheless, it is doubtful whether she should desire or further that triumph of the Allies which will rivet and perpetuate their present commercial and colonial preponderance upon the world.



CATTARO, DALMATIA, UNDER BOMBARDMENT BY THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH FLEETS

THE WAR FROM VARIED VIEWPOINTS

LORD BRYCE ON WAR FOR TREATIES

ONE of the important deliverances occasioned by the war is the article written last month by Lord Bryce for the *London Daily Chronicle*.

This article begins by reminding us that the war has already called the attention of the world outside Germany to certain doctrines proclaimed there, which, in Mr. Bryce's opinion, "strike at the root of all international morality, as well as of all international law, and threaten a return to primitive savagery, when every tribe was wont to plunder and massacre its neighbors."

These doctrines may be found set forth in General Bernhardt's book entitled "Germany and the Next War," which has already been widely circulated in America, as well as in England. This book was published in 1911, and professed to be chiefly based on the teachings of the famous professor of history, Heinrich von Treitschke. Because these teachings will appear to most readers in other countries to be an outburst of militarism run mad, Lord Bryce is of the opinion that they would have deserved little notice, much less refutation, but for one deplorable fact, viz., that action has recently been taken by the German Government which is consonant with them and seems to imply belief in their soundness. Lord Bryce alludes here, of course, to the alleged violation of Belgian neutrality as guaranteed by the treaty made

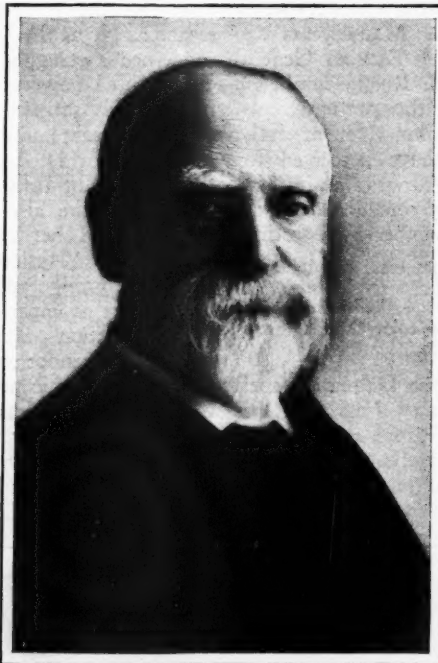
in 1839 and renewed in 1870, when Belgium refused to allow the German armies to pass, although France, the other belligerent, had explicitly promised not to enter Belgium, and to the further charge that Germany has

treated Belgian cities and peoples, against whom she had no cause of quarrel, with a harshness unprecedented in the history of modern European warfare.

Lord Bryce does not for a moment attribute these doctrines to the learned class in Germany, whose services to science and learning he is glad to recognize, nor to the bulk of the German administration, nor to the German people generally. Indeed, Bernhardt himself repeatedly complains and deplores the pacific tendencies of his fellow-countrymen. Lord Bryce personally declares

himself unprejudiced in the matter, since he has been one of those who for many years have labored to promote good relations between the German and English peoples, and he had hoped and believed, to the beginning of last August, that between England and Germany there would be no war, because Belgian neutrality would be respected.

Nor was it only for the sake of Great Britain and Germany that English friends of peace sought to maintain good feeling. We had hoped, as some leading German statesmen had hoped, that a friendliness with Germany might enable Great Britain, with the coöperation of the United



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JAMES BRYCE (VISCOUNT BRYCE)

States, our closest friends, to mitigate the long antagonism of Germany and of the French, with whom we were already on good terms, and to so improve their relations as to secure the general peace of Europe.

Into the causes of the war Lord Bryce does not enter, further than to deny that it was commercial rivalry or jealousy of German power that brought Great Britain into the field; nor, he says, was there any hatred in the British people for the German people, nor any wish to break their power. He believes that the persons in each country who desired war formed a small minority. So far as Great Britain was concerned, it was the invasion of Belgium that arrested all efforts to avert war, and made the friends of peace themselves join in holding that the duty of fulfilling their treaty obligations to the weak states was paramount to every other consideration.

TEACHINGS OF BERNHARDI

Lord Bryce sums up the doctrines of Bernhardi, as apparently accepted by the military caste to which he belongs, as follows, using Bernhardi's own words except when it becomes necessary to abridge a lengthened argument:

"War is in itself a good thing. It is a biological necessity of the first importance." (P. 18.)

"The inevitableness, the idealism, the blessing of war as an indispensable and stimulating law of development must be repeatedly emphasized." (P. 37.)

"War is the greatest factor in the furtherance of culture and power. Efforts to secure peace are extraordinarily detrimental as soon as they influence politics." (P. 28.)

"Fortunately these efforts can never attain their ultimate objects in a world bristling with arms, where healthy egotism still directs the policy of most countries. God will see to it, says Treitschke, that war always recurs as a drastic medicine for the human race." (P. 36.)

Efforts directed toward the abolition of war are not only foolish, but absolutely immoral, and must be stigmatized as unworthy of the human race." (P. 34.)

"Courts of arbitration are pernicious delusions. The whole idea represents a presumptuous encroachment on natural laws of development which can only lead to the most disastrous consequences for humanity generally." (P. 34.)

"The maintenance of peace never can be or may be the goal of a policy." (P. 25.)

"Efforts for peace would, if they attained their goal, lead to general degeneration, as happens everywhere in nature where the struggle for existence is eliminated." (P. 35.)

"Huge armaments are in themselves desirable. They are the most necessary precondition of our national health." (P. 11.)

"The end all and be all of a state

is power, and he who is not man enough to look this truth in the face should not meddle with politics." (Quoted from Treitschke's "Politik.")

"The state's highest moral duty is to increase its power." (Pp. 45-6.)

"The state is justified in making conquests whenever its own advantage seems to require additional territory." (P. 46.)

"Self-preservation is the state's highest ideal and justifies whatever action it may take if that action be conducive to that end. The state is the sole judge of the morality of its own action. It is in fact above morality, or, in other words, whatever is necessary is moral. Recognized rights (i. e., treaty rights) are never absolute rights; they are of human origin, and, therefore, imperfect and variable. There are conditions in which they do not correspond to the actual truth of things. In this case infringement of the right appears morally justified." (P. 49.)

"In fact, the state is a law unto itself. Weak nations have not the same right to live as powerful and vigorous nations." (P. 34.)

"Any action in favor of collective humanity outside the limits of the state and nationality is impossible." (P. 25.)

DOOM OF THE SMALL STATE

Startling as these propositions are when propounded to-day as practically axiomatic, they are by no means new, for Lord Bryce reminds us that twenty-two centuries ago the sophist Thrasymachus, in Plato's "Republic," argued—Socrates refuting him—that justice is nothing more than the advantage of the stronger,—in other words, that might is right.

By the operation of these doctrines smaller and weaker states which have heretofore lived in comparative security beside the great powers will be absolutely at the mercy of the stronger, even if protected by treaties guaranteeing their neutrality and independence.

Lord Bryce cites instances from European history to show that the small states, whose absorption is now threatened, have been a potent and useful, "perhaps the most potent and useful," factor in the advance of civilization. "It is in them and by them that most of what is most precious in religion, in philosophy, in literature, in science and in art has been produced." Greece, Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries have all been small states. Coming nearer home, "England had in the age of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton a population little larger than all Bulgaria to-day. The United States, in the days of Washington and Franklin and Jefferson and Hamilton, counted fewer inhabitants than Denmark or Germany." Reverting to German history, "in the most brilliant generations of German literature and thought, the age of Kant and Lessing and Goethe and Schil-



GENERAL VON BERNHARDI, THE LEADING EXPONENT
OF GERMAN MILITARISM

ler and Fichte, there was no real German state at all, but a congeries of principalities and free cities, independent centers of intellectual life in which letters and science produced a richer crop than the two succeeding generations, just as Great Britain also, with eight times the population of the year 1600, has had no more Shakespeares or Miltons."

According to Bernhardi, culture, literary and scientific and artistic, flourishes best in great military states, but this idea, says Lord Bryce, has been palpably contradicted by history. The decay of art and literature in the Roman world began just when Rome's military power had made that world one great and ordered state. No race, says Lord Bryce, not even the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon, is entitled to claim the leadership of humanity.

Each people has in its time contributed something that was distinctively its own, and the world is far richer thereby than if any one race, however gifted, had established its permanent ascendancy.

Lord Bryce pays tribute to the altruism of the United States in withdrawing the troops from Cuba, which could easily have been retained, and to that of Great Britain in restoring the amplest self-government to the two South-African Republics, so that citizens of those republics which were in arms against Great Britain thirteen years ago have now spontaneously come forward to support her by arms under the gallant leader who then commanded the Boers. He concludes with this eloquent analysis of the true test of national greatness:

It is only vulgar minds that mistake bigness for greatness; for greatness is of the soul, not of the body. In the judgment which history will hereafter pass upon the forty centuries of recorded progress toward civilization that now lie behind us, what are the tests it will apply to determine the true greatness of a people? Not population, not territory, not wealth, not military power; rather will history ask what examples of lofty character and unselfish devotion to honor and duty has a people given? What has it done to increase the volume of knowledge? What thoughts and what ideals of permanent value and unexhausted fertility has it bequeathed to mankind? What works has it produced in poetry, music, and other arts to be an unfailing source of enjoyment to posterity? The small peoples need not fear the application of such tests.

The world advances, not, as the Bernhardi school supposes, only or even mainly by fighting; it advances mainly by thinking and by the process of reciprocal teaching and learning; by the continuous and unconscious cooperation of all its strongest and finest minds. Each race,—Hellenic, Italic, Celtic, Teutonic, Iberian, Slavonic,—has something to give, each something to learn; and when their blood is blended the mixed stock may combine gifts of both. Most progressive races have been those who combined willingness to learn with strength, which enabled them to receive without loss to their own quality, retaining their primal vigor, but entering into the labors of others, as the Teutons who settled within the dominion of Rome profited by the lessons of the old civilization.

A KINDLY GERMAN REPLY

IN a reply to Lord Bryce which Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, formerly Colonial Minister of Germany, contributed to the *New York Sun* of October 11, the attitude of General von Bernhardi is disclaimed as representative of German public sentiment. Neither von Bernhardi himself, says Dr. Dernburg, nor the followers of Treitschke, nor the disci-

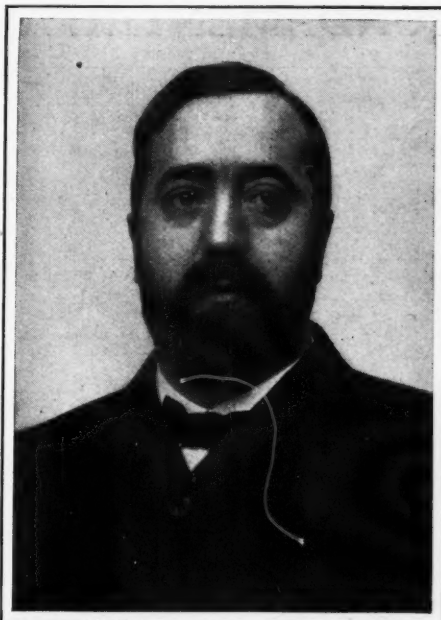
ples of Nietzsche are the guiding spirits of those men who are now conducting the affairs of the German government. So far as the mass of German voters are concerned, fully one-third of the population as represented by the ballot is Socialist, and have never voted the budget on account of the war expenditure contained therein. More

than one-third of the German population is Catholic politically organized for the upholding of the equal rights of Catholics with Protestants. Furthermore, Dr. Dernburg states that the Bernhardt book, when it first appeared in Germany, was widely condemned for its very extreme views and is likely to lead to some misunderstanding of the German feeling. Dr. Dernburg proceeds, however, to justify General Bernhardt's position, in a measure, by stating the reasons that actuated him in writing the book.

Gen. von Bernhardt, who is not a common personality, thought he had reason to write his book because of the effeminate tendencies that he saw in Germany; because of the materialistic trend of life and the strife for wealth that he observed; because of the lack of proportion between the growing German population and its territory; because of the small share she had in such countries overseas that might lend themselves to colonization or could secure trade. He saw how this world had been divided up since 1870; how the French, with 39,000,000 inhabitants in the home country and 207,000 square miles, had been adding an overseas empire of nearly 3,000,000 square miles and nearly 60,000,000 people; how England, having 45,000,000 population in the home country and 120,000 square miles, had been adding 3,200,000 square miles, with about 95,000,000 people, in the same period; how Russia had taken nearly all of the continent of Asia north of the neutrality line drawn by the English-Russian treaty of 1907; how Japan had been doubling its territory in habitable and fertile country and gaining influence over twice as much in Manchuria, which it practically controls; how even Belgium, of only 11,000 square miles and a home population of 7,500,000, acquired the Congo, with 900,000 square miles and 9,000,000 natives; while Germany, with 208,000 square miles at home and 65,000,000 people, got about 1,100,000 square miles with a population of 13,000,000 people, almost all of which was tropical land unfit for colonization, half of it arid land unfit for production. I know the story of that struggle because I have stood in it.

Whenever Germany has sought to get some share in the undivided part of the world, in other words, to get some "sphere of influence," it was invariably England, according to Dr. Dernburg, who stood in her way. This, he says, was the case in the story of Morocco, which England played into the hands of the French who have no need for expansion. Something similar happened in Persia and Mesopotamia where Germany looked only for a field of commercial endeavor.

As to the British attitude towards international trade, Dr. Dernburg maintains that England's declaration that she is a free country and that all the peoples can do busi-



DR. BERNHARD DERNBURG

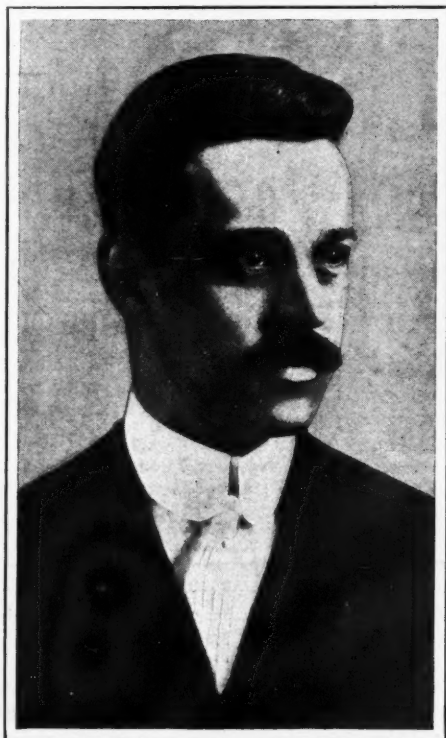
(An article by Dr. Dernburg on "Germany's Food Supply" appears on page 579 of this REVIEW)

ness with her on the same terms without preference to British goods is true only as regards England herself. The spirit of British imperialism has caused preferential tariffs to be introduced in all the British dominions from 10 and 15 per cent. in the Cape and Australia to 33 per cent. in Canada.

After citing instances in Egypt, China and Italy which tend to show that treaty stipulations have been disregarded or violated since the outbreak of war, Dr. Dernburg concludes with this paragraph:

The main point is that Mr. Bryce does not say a word for his country or for the English attitude. He writes a scholarly article which makes beautiful reading and is the act of a patriot who will not leave his country in a difficult situation. He did not like to write the letter, I am sure, because Mr. Bryce feels as I do; that England, calling in its struggle for the maintenance of her high-handed policy against Germany the Russians and the Servians and the Montenegrins and the Japanese and the Indians and all sorts of Africans as well as the Portuguese, who vie in illiteracy with the Russians, more than 70 per cent. not knowing how to read or write, it could not claim to fight for the freedom of the world, the advance of culture, the sacredness of treaties and the high ideals expressed in our common faith. Mr. Bryce knows as well as I do that these are all but words used to cover big materialism and selfish policy.

FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS OF THE WAR



PROFESSOR ROLAND G. USHER

(The author of "Pan-Germanism," who contributes noteworthy articles on the war to the *North American Review* and the *Atlantic Monthly*)

PROFESSOR ROLAND G. USHER, of Washington University, St. Louis, writing in the *North American Review* and the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, analyzes some of the more fundamental aspects of the European crisis. He outlines the rise of the German national theory on which the present action of that country is based, and shows that each step that has been taken by Germany, beginning with the creation of a great army and including the building of a commercial and industrial empire and the attempted control of the sea, has led up to the struggle with England, France, and Russia. This, according to Professor Usher, is the German dream of to-day:

A great confederation is projected comprising Germany, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Hungary, the Balkans, Turkey, Asia Minor, a new world-state bounded by the North Sea and the Persian Gulf, the Baltic and the Mediterranean. Stretching diagonally across Europe to the East, it will furnish an all-

rail route from Berlin and Vienna to the Persian Gulf and India. Already the last section of the Bagdad Railroad from Constantinople to Bagdad is under construction, and the all-rail connection will soon be an actuality. Thus would be established an empire, contiguous in territory, more homogeneous in population, language, religion, institutions, than those of Alexander, of Cæsar, of England, capable of being knit together into the mightiest state known in human history. Its structure and its position would insure it long life; its enemies would have been humbled and weakened by the process of its erection; its size and wealth would for many generations form a bar to the advance of the Slav and insure the safety of Europe from the awakened China and India. France would be confined within "her natural boundaries"; England would be robbed of her present position by the change in the commercial and political axis of the world. No longer would the Channel and the Mediterranean be significant, no longer would the sea be mistress of the land.

We cannot too often repeat that to the German and the Austrian this is purely self-preservation; not, indeed, of the Germany and Austria that now are, but the effective pledge of the *continuance* of their present rate of growth in population, in wealth, in education, in culture, in prosperity. The rate of progress of the last thirty years they mean to make normal; its retardation seems to them the equivalent of national extinction.

Recent events in the Near East seem almost to have conspired in behalf of Germany's plan of conquest. Turkey, some time since, fell into German hands; the Bagdad Railway is nearly finished; the second Balkan war threw Bulgaria into the hands of Austria. There remains one essential step in securing control of the Balkans, the weakening and overwhelming of Serbia, and, if possible, its annexation. That done, the confederation would be complete.

The assault on Serbia, moreover, created an issue which, while clearly one over which a general war might be fought, presented a specific question to England and France which either or both could have declared insufficient ground for war without open loss of national honor. The one was busy with Ulster; the other was not thought ready to fight. The Austrians and Germans have obviously counted much on the extent to which their adversaries will be crippled by internal dissensions. England and France could thus evade the issue without openly confessing they were afraid to fight. Russia would not dare fight alone. If the Triple Entente thus allowed them to overrun Serbia and complete the Confederation, it would prove that the Confederation was already recognized as master of the situation, and then the remainder of the scheme could be executed little by little, or faster, as might seem expedient.

If the Triple Entente decided to try the issue by war, the sword would have been "forced into the

hands" of Germany and Austria and they would calmly do their duty by God and their country. In fact, the general opinion outside of Germany and Austria declares unanimously that from the moment the Servian crisis appeared both Austria and Germany pressed the issue upon the Triple Entente in a form which the latter could not refuse without shameful cowardice, and, while obviously anxious to compel Russia, and especially France, to take the first hostile steps, they were determined that the war should be begun without delay.

We have heard much of late about the frightful cost of armaments; the terrible character of modern warfare has been cited as evidence that we should never again have a general European war. Such agencies were too destructive to be used for the settlement of quarrels between civilized nations. Every statement of that nature is true. But reason, logic, and ethics, loss of hu-

man life, and the expenditure of resources have necessarily failed to prevent a war of pure aggression whose causes lie deep in the accident of geography and history, and in the national antipathies created by fifteen hundred years' emulation.

In his *Atlantic Monthly* article, which also outlines and discusses the reasons behind the war, Professor Usher is at some pains to warn his readers against the hasty assumption that Austria advisedly began a general European war, or that Germany was anxious to fight. Neither of these powers, says Professor Usher, has ever been anxious to fight for what it is determined to have unless it can obtain that thing in no other way.

IS A GERMAN REVOLUTION POSSIBLE?

ONE of the deeper questions which the present European imbroglio is bringing forcibly to the attention of political economists is whether a German revolution is a possibility of the near future. Some editorial writers in this country do not hesitate to predict that the ultimate outcome of the hell-broth now brewing will be the downfall of all those dynasties,—Hohenzollern, Hapsburg, and Romanoff, which rest upon the ancient and rotten foundation of the assumed "divine right of kings."

It is highly improbable that such questions could become subjects for the press of Germany in the present crisis. It is all the more interesting therefore to discover in a German magazine which reached this country a few weeks before hostilities began, an article dealing with this very topic. To be sure, the article is from the pen of a Frenchman, that of Romain Rolland, the famous author of "Jean Christophe," but that fact adds, if anything, to the significance of its appearance in the first number of *Das Forum* (Munich), a review published and edited by the well-known littérateur and critic William Herzog. The essay was Rolland's response to a circular question promulgated by the editor of *La Vie*, and opens thus:

I fear that your question (Is a Revolution in Germany Possible?) is rather a dangerous one, since it has for us a double interest: as regards the French Nation, and as regards German freedom. I am firmly convinced that the chief hindrance to the outbreak of the yearning for freedom in Germany is to be sought in the fear of weakening the military strength of the country as compared to that of France,—a France always prepared to find its own advantages in any unrest in the Kaiser's realm; and the conservative party

does not fail to employ this ghost of French revenge as an agitation-measure against its opponents. . . . It is very venturesome to answer your question. One must confine himself to uttering a purely personal opinion. I for my own part, believe in the necessity of a political revolution in Germany. I believe it is near at hand; and I perceive its ominous thunders in various speeches in the Reichstag . . . which make my very heart to tremble.

Continuing, Rolland remarks that there is a vast discrepancy between the German spirit of former days and the régime of to-day,— "a feudal and worn-out régime which stifles that spirit,"—and adds that France is hardly aware to what degree the spirit of freedom has blossomed in Germany.

We are still possessed with the belief that true intellectual freedom is to be found only in France. Now that was accurate, perhaps, some twenty years ago, but is not true to-day. The minds which in Germany (and also in England, where, if less numerous, they are no less unafraid), which have once lost their reverence for might . . . attain a rashness of political, moral, and social liberty which is no longer restrained by anything, and is ready to cast aside considerations which still bind even the freest among us, by reason of habit, shrewdness, the need of balance, social feeling, or of good taste.

If the German revolution is not dammed up by the shrewd politics of a Kaiser and a Chancellor who must inevitably guide it, instead of suppressing it (and political skill seems in no wise their forte), if it finds its fulfilment by force, then it will overshadow in violence every revolution which we have achieved in France. Whatever may happen, and whatever the outcome of the present crisis, I regard this struggle as the most inspiring and the most powerful that is now being played out in Europe. And I extend my fraternal sympathy to the fighters for freedom in Germany, for the goal they strive to attain is the freedom of the world. They must conquer for their own sake and for ours.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S COMMENT

WRITING in the *Outlook* (New York) for September 23 on "The World War: Its Tragedies and Its Lessons," ex-President Roosevelt says that the most important lesson to be learned from Belgium's fate is that "as things in the world now are, we must in any great crisis trust for our national safety to our ability and willingness to defend ourselves by our own trained strength and courage. We must not wrong others; and for our own safety we must trust not to worthless bits of paper unbacked by power and to treaties that are fundamentally foolish, but to our own manliness and clear-sighted willingness to face facts."

Colonel Roosevelt thinks it possible that

this conflict will result in a growth of democracy in Europe, "in at least a partial substitution of the rule of the people for the rule of those who esteem it their God-given right to govern the people." He does not think that at present this growth of democracy would prevent the possibility of warfare. Indeed, he is of the opinion that in the countries engaged the peoples have, in general, been behind their sovereigns on both sides. But the growth of the power of the people, while it would not prevent war, would at least render it "more possible than at present to make appeals which might result in some cases in coming to an accommodation based upon justice."

THE AUSTRIAN VIEW

IN the article on "World War" by Leopold Freiherr von Chlumecky, in the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, the charge is made, without reservation or qualification, that the Triple Entente had formed a deliberate plan for the destruction of Austria-Hungary and of Germany,—a plan frustrated only by the decisive stand taken by these powers in the critical days of last July. He says:

Russia made use of the Austro-Servian conflict as a pretext for starting the world-conflagration. The original purpose of the Triple Entente was different from this. It is now established beyond doubt that the three Entente powers were making their preparations, diplomatic and military, with a view to waging, in 1916 or 1917, with overwhelming forces, a war of annihilation against Austria-Hungary and Germany. Russia was to complete her network of strategic roads, to increase her army by the organization of new corps, and to re-create the navy with great rapidity. It was hoped that by that time the Balkan federation would be patched together again, with Rumania taking the place of Bulgaria, that the new Servian army divisions would be successfully organized; and above all Serbia was counted on to play the part of the battering-ram which would compel Austria-Hungary to fight at just that moment which should appear to the Triple Entente to be the most favorable for their purpose. To have discovered this scheme in time is a great achievement of our diplomacy.

From that moment there was for us no choice. It was a necessity of self-preservation to frustrate the schemes of our enemies and to render harmless that opponent to whom had been assigned the rôle of *agent provocateur*—Serbia. This accounts for the rigorous demands of the note sent to Belgrade. Nothing short of its unconditional fulfilment could give Austria the assurance that

the mines laid by St. Petersburg might not be exploded at Belgrade at any moment by merely pressing on the trigger. The fact that Serbia sought again to evade the requirements, and to preserve for herself the freedom to carry on further hostile proceedings, was proof that Russia was inflexibly determined to enter a life-and-death struggle against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the opportune moment. To have shown any willingness to yield or compromise in relation to Serbia would, in this situation, have been equivalent to the sacrifice of our whole future. It would have been plunging into the abyss with our eyes open.

For the rest, Freiherr von Chlumecky's article is, in the main, a statement of the general position of Germany and Austria-Hungary, as it has been put forward in many speeches and documents in Germany. It is noteworthy that he lays great stress on the loyalty of the Socialist element in both empires, as proof of the recognition by the Socialists of the necessity of the war as a matter of national self-preservation, and particularly of the defense of Western civilization against "Russian despotism" and the "Cosack spirit." After quoting at length from leading Socialist utterances, he declares that "this attitude of the Social Democracy of both countries furnishes additional proof that we are fighting in a holy cause."

Finally, as regards the distinctive situation of Austria-Hungary, arising from the mixture of peoples which it comprises, Freiherr von Chlumecky says:

The hope of our enemies that they might gain

advantage from internal troubles that would break out upon the occasion of foreign complications has been completely disappointed. Precisely the opposite has happened. The peoples of Austria and Hungary are united as never before; there is a single heart-beat throughout the whole empire; a feeling of fellowship never before experienced has taken hold of Germans and Slavs, Magyars and Rumanians: a new Austrianness, a new Hungarianness, has been born, and the varied peoples of this composite empire gather under her flags

with an enthusiasm that could not be greater if they were members of a single people, a single nation. If any one had predicted this a few weeks ago—if any one had regarded it as possible that there should be German-Czech fraternizations in Prague—he would have been laughed at as a Utopian. Nevertheless, there have been, for several years past, such Utopians. Precisely the so-called "War Party" has steadily insisted that the internal troubles of Austria-Hungary could be cured only through a mighty attack from without.

THE POLES IN AUSTRIA

AMONG the most pregnant problems involved in the present European conflict is the attitude of the Poles towards the various governments under which the divided nation now lives. Will they remain loyal to Austria, Germany, and Russia respectively, or will they seek to coalesce and recreate that nation whose political extinction they have never ceased bitterly to mourn and bitterly to resent? Will a new Poland rise from the ashes of the battlefields now aflame? That Russia appreciates the importance of the question is shown by the large promises she is now making to the compatriots of Kosciusko and Sobieski. The matter is one of gravest import to Austria also, and this is clearly indicated in the lengthy article entitled "The Poles and the War," which appears in the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, one of the leading periodicals published in Vienna, for September 15. The article is announced as the first of a series on the same topic by Dr. Josef Buzek, a well-known University professor and a member of the *Reichsrath*. The opening paragraph runs as follows:

The historic mission of the Poles throughout the whole course of Polish history consists in the protection they have afforded as foreposts of the Occident to the Western civilization founded upon the principles of the Catholic Church, against attack by the Byzantine Orient. As the strongest people numerically of the Catholic Slavic world they have for centuries protected Western and Central Europe against Turk and Tartar, and since the rise of the Muscovite power against orthodox Russia. A similar task has been allotted by God to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

In the present world-war, which may change the map of Europe for a long period to come, the Poles will once more take up their historic mission in the closest union with Austro-Hungary. Their struggle will concern the driving of the hereditary Russian foe from Polish ground and the lasting union of the Polish portion of Russia with the monarchy ruled by the glorious scepter of the Hapsburgs. Since we seek in this and in the following articles to portray the deeds and endeavors of the Poles in this war, we will, by way

of introduction, briefly describe the political conditions in the Polish sections of the land and set forth the most important facts, which will enable the reader to gain an insight into the military services rendered by the Poles up to the end of last August.

This introduction, which pretty clearly indicates the trend of the articles, is followed by a detailed account of Russo-Polish politics which we have no space to cite. From the premises given Dr. Buzek draws this conclusion:

All these occurrences did not fail to react on the attitude of the Austrian Poles towards Russia. The interest of the Poles in the members of their race living under the government of other countries has always remained very living, and just as the Russian Poles, without distinction of party, rejoiced in the importance of the Poles in Austria, even so the Poles of Galicia rejoiced,—again without distinction of party,—when in 1905 a better lot seemed to smile upon their brethren in Russia; and their disappointment and embitterment were even so great when these hopes proved deceptive. The Polish political parties here and there have no organized connection, with the single exception of the Polish Social-Democratic party. This party had already taken a lively part in the revolutionary movement in Russian Poland in 1904-06, and after the decline of this movement it continued its preparations for the struggle against Russia for freedom on Austrian soil. A special feature of these preparations is the forming of the organization of the Young Marks-men.

This organization, which seems to be very extensive, is largely the work of a Pole named Josef Pilsudski, who was sentenced when a mere youth to five years in Siberia, merely because he happened to be in St. Petersburg when the late Czar was assassinated. His activities against Russia since are hardly to be wondered at. The second part of the article deals with the services actually rendered by the Polish troops in the field. We read:

The services rendered by the Polish Schützen troops in the war against Russia are partly strictly military and partly of a general nature. Before

me lies the bulletin issued on August 16 by the Press Bureau of the Commission of the United Independent parties, which gives a striking picture of the activity of the Polish Schützenkorps in Russian Poland. From this bulletin we extract the following statements: "The Schützenkorps marched at the head of the Austrian army and reconnoitred for it. . . ."

We note that one page of this second part is quite blank, which doubtless indicates deletion by the censor. The final paragraphs are devoted to asseveration that the Austrian Poles are heart and soul with the Hapsburg cause. Cracow has voted a million kronen for the war-chest of the Polish legions and Lemberg a million and a half, with other cities and Polish communities of Galicia following suit in proportion to their means. Significant sentences quoted from the *Aufruf* of August 17 are these:

As we behold our youths, the dearest treasure of any people, march to the field of honor, we behold therein the satisfaction of a debt of honor of this land towards our magnanimous monarch under whose glorious scepter the Polish people have found a safe refuge. In this time, when a new Europe is being created in streams of blood and freed from the terror of Russian dominion, we may be able to regain much, but we must also be ready to sacrifice much.

Dr. Buzek closes with these highly significant words:

While the Poles are thus ready to pour forth their money and their blood for their monarchs and for the liberation of their brothers from the Russian lordship, they hope that from the battlefields where their blood is shed in common there will proceed the rebirth of the Polish nation and a marked increase in the power of the Hapsburg monarchy, and a reconciliation between the Catholic Slavic world and the German race.

AN ITALIAN OPINION

DIVERSITY of opinion regarding the causes which have led up to the present world-war is nowhere more marked than in Italy at the present time. This is a natural result of the exceptional position of that land in relation to the countries engaged in the bitter conflict, with two of which Italy is bound by treaty engagements, while her most immediate and pressing interests tend to draw her toward the enemies of these very lands. Hence her neutrality, quite unlike our own, has a somewhat unstable basis, and there exists an expressed or latent feeling that the country may sooner or later become involved in the war.

An instance of the disagreement of Italian opinion is offered in a paper by Signor C. Di Lesegno in *Rassegna Nazionale*, written in reply to a recently published article by Signor E. A. Foperti on "Italy and the European Crisis," wherein France was charged with the responsibility for the war, because that nation had increased its armaments to an unreasonable extent and had thus forced all the other powers to do the same. That this is altogether untrue and that Germany instead of France is responsible for the outbreak is Signor Di Lesegno's firm conviction. Of this he says:

That from 1870 the longing for *la revanche* and for the recovery of the lost provinces was deep-seated in the hearts of all patriotic Frenchmen admits of no denial; it is equally true that politicians, writers in prose and verse, and artists have used their best endeavors to keep this senti-

ment alive; but who can justly blame them for this? However, both logic and common sense dictate that anyone who ardently wishes to secure something shall prepare himself in the best possible way to attain his end. Now, admitting the existence in France of such an aggressive tendency,—let us call it so, if you will,—can it be affirmed that the leaders of France, of all sorts and kinds, all these have for many years diverted the attention of French officialdom to such an extent as to prevent the bestowal of the requisite care upon the first of national institutions, the army?

On the contrary, I ask myself whether the constant, colossal and unreasonable armaments of Germany, whether the diligent preparations of the German army, which, however, merit all respect, did not constitute a real provocation. It is not surprising that the German hosts, so long and carefully prepared, those who have stood at the helm of State, have sought to give substantial form to this tendency by instituting the military measures calculated to further its aims? No, indeed; they had very different interests to serve. Electioneering and political intrigues; recurrent ministerial crises; Masonic congresses; shameless corruption; systematic denunciations in the ranks of the army; the Dreyfus trial; the attack upon the religious congregations; political scandals have advanced rapidly and victoriously, but this very fact shows that they were ready, shows that everything was foreseen in the minutest detail for an attack at the opportune moment.

Neither should the objection be raised that if Germany wished for war she would have assailed France while Russia was helpless because of the unsuccessful war with Japan. Germany did not attack France ten years ago for one sole and sufficient reason,—she was not yet sufficiently prepared and armed to the teeth, and therefore she had to wait for a better opportunity.

It is not for us, who stand so near to the events that are transpiring, to pronounce a definite judgment as to the onus of responsibility in the present

dreadful war, but, as to myself, I should not hesitate for a moment to give expression to my unshakable conviction,—which may, however, be erroneous,—that if the spark which started the conflagration was the brutal ultimatum sent by Austria to Serbia, the single nation that wished, and strongly wished, to provoke the war was Germany, a powerful state in need of expansion, and the only one that was really prepared for war.

The course to be pursued by Italy in this critical period of the world's history is thus stated by Signor Di Lesegno:

Italy's policy should be to obey the dictates of her national interests and of her national honor, and we may have full confidence in the good sense of our sovereign, in the intelligence, calmness and deliberation of our government and of its present head. Therefore, let us abstain from formulating opinions or urging to action in a way that might force the hand of our government, and let us quickly accept the solution that events will seem to counsel. Let us place our trust in Divine Providence and in Italy's guiding star, and let us hope that it will continue to illumine her path, ever leading her on to higher destinies.

TURKEY AND THE WAR

THERE can be no doubt that the present European war is being regarded at Constantinople as Turkey's opportunity. The question is, opportunity for what? A vivid summing up of the present state of mind in the Ottoman Empire is made by Mr. T. Lothrop Stoddard, who has made frequent contributions to the REVIEW, in an article in the October number of the *North American Review*.

We do not know what is stirring in Stamboul, he remarks, but we do perceive some things.

The Turkish Government is displaying toward the embattled Allies,—England, France, and Russia,—a provocative haughtiness that increases with every day, while Ottoman diplomats throughout the world are using language seldom heard in the guarded conversations of the chancelleries. German battle-cruisers have been taken into Turkish service, and the Ottoman Government has answered the Allies' protests by inquiring what they were going to do about it. The Turkish Ambassador to Washington has countered on our proposal to send a warship to Constantinople for the relief of our nationals in Ottoman territory by a most extraordinary press interview criticizing our own domestic shortcomings and asking if America wants war. Finally, to cap the climax, Turkey has cavalierly abrogated all extra-territorial rights of foreigners within its dominions,—those famous "Capitulations," older than the Ottoman Empire itself, dating as they do from the special status granted the resident citizens of the Italian maritime republics by the medieval Byzantine Empire; and the Turkish Ambassador to Washington answers the chorus of astonishment at this amazing coup by simply remarking, "This war is Turkey's opportunity."

Mr. Stoddard hazards several guesses—in the form of a question—as to this opportunity. He says:

Is "Young Turkey" seeking merely to shake off the galling trammels of European tutelage and to establish itself as sovereign master in its own house, or is it planning something more,—some

desperate effort to turn back the ebbing tide of Ottoman destiny, some "thunder stroke" beside which last year's defiant seizure of Adrianople and the Maritza River line shall be as the sound of brass or tinkling cymbals? Shall we presently see Turkish battleships bearing the Sublime Porte's "*non-possumus*" of the Egean Islands as a cartel to the Greek fleet; Turkish armies backing the despoiled Bulgarians in an effort to rescue the Bulgars of Serb Macedonia, and spurring the Rumanians over the "Accursed Pruth" in an endeavor to revenge Russia's Bessarabian seizure of two generations ago; Anatolian redifs and Kurdish cavalry skirting the snows of Ararat to the assault of Tiflis and Kars on Russia's trans-Caucasian rear?

A rapid analysis of five centuries of Turkish history leads him to the conclusion that the steady shrinkage of Ottoman dominion in Europe during the past century has not been all lost. He thinks that being shorn of the Balkan provinces, particularly Albania, has in reality been a gain to Turkey. He then speaks of the problems which face Turkish statesmanship at the present moment and points out that, under the energetic leadership of Enver Bey, the Young Turk government of the day is endeavoring to follow in Japan's footsteps: "to assimilate Europe's strength and then to fight encroaching Europe with its own weapons." The Turkification policy of the first Young Turkish ministries, Mr. Stoddard believes, was foredoomed to failure. But—

The second school of Young Turk thought has at last come into its own. This school has the greatest respect for German army officers, Krupp guns and Vickers-built battleships, but it has very little faith in Western nationalism or parliamentary government; it believes in Islamic civilization and a Mohammedan Ottoman Empire; it fears and hates Christendom as its natural and remorseless enemy.

Suppose, he asks in conclusion, we should

have at last what we have been threatened with so long, a Jihad or Holy War?

Of course there would be England and France to reckon with, or what little of them could be spared from the death-struggle in the West. But England has India and Egypt, France has her North African Empire,—some ninety million Mohammedans all told, and most of them "first-class fighting men." True it is that (Indian sowars) and Algerine turcos are at this moment fighting the

Allies' battles in France and Flanders, but would they charge the German lines so gaily if to-morrow French and English battleships should bombard the Dardanelles? India has always throbbed a quick response to Turkish misfortunes in the past . . . Then there is the growing Egyptian unrest, which moved Mr. Roosevelt to his Guildhall warnings of a short time since. What would happen in Cairo if Turkish regulars and Arab tribesmen should appear out of the desert on the line of the Suez Canal?

WAR AND CIVILIZATION, FROM A SOCIALIST VIEWPOINT

THE appalling catastrophe which has befallen Europe is the subject of the initial article of a late issue of *Die Neue Zeit* (Berlin), a weekly journal of the German Social-Democrats. But a few short months ago, who, the writer asks, would have believed in the possibility of such a world-war, with its dire loss of life, its stoppage of industry, commerce, and its other untold evils? And insistent as were the warnings of the Socialists against the daily growing danger to the peace of nations and to civilization, of the pressure for expansion of imperialism and militarism,—there must have been many even among the Socialists who, optimistically, looked upon these warnings as mere theories.

The community of thought of the cultural nations, nurtured by science and literature, industry and commerce, has given place to unbridled race-hatred and national conceit; and brutal instincts which dominated primitive man thousands of years ago have been unchained.

Like an overwhelming fate,—the writer says,—war has overtaken the world. Nobody, so it is asserted, wanted it, every one honestly sought to prevent it. The real truth of the matter can be established by historical research only when honest reflection shall return in the train of peace. To-day, national passion distorts all the facts beyond recognition. But be the matter as it may regarding political errors and entanglements, diplomatic cunning and treachery,—even if we should admit that imperialism and rival armament got beyond the control of the responsible parties, and, by a noxious freak, upset all the calculations of the statesmen: the war becoming suddenly a fact and a terrible necessity from which none of the entangled nations could any longer withdraw,—it was, it must be confessed, no edifying spectacle to see it made palatable to the

simplest minds in the style of a child's primer. Would it not have been sufficient to represent it as unavoidable, as a bitter but iron necessity? But no: the war must be a "just" one, too, not in the loftier historic sense, but in the most banal significance of commonplace Philistine morality. And the "intellectuals," who looked upon the mentality of the common herd with unutterable contempt, suddenly waxed enthusiastic over the delicious primitiveness of the popular conception of history. It sounds like the primer, as the *Berliner Tageblatt* recently remarked: The true-hearted, upright German, the brutal, knavish Russian, the impudent Servian, the treacherous Englishman. But that the masses should find satisfaction in such touchingly childish representations, *that* this old foggy authority finds enchanting and sublime. O land of poets and thinkers!

The most astonishing thing, however, that we have experienced was when a number of more or less noted German writers, who would like to figure not only as the cream of German intellectual life but as the most perfect bloom of modern culture, suddenly made the discovery that all the work of peace has in reality been a long, dull dream, an enervating hashish intoxication, and that mankind has awakened to fresh, glorious life only with the war. According to such avowals one might indeed believe that war is not a catastrophe, a paroxysm, but the highest boon to mankind, one in which, unfortunately, it but too rarely has a share.

The glorification of war by certain philosophers, historians, and military men is, of course, an old story. It would be senseless and preposterous even for the most sentimental pacifist,—not to speak of a Socialist who sees things as they are,—to deny that the war has kindled a storm of heroic enthusiasm; it has proved anew how under the

suggestion of a dominating idea, and a hypnotism *en masse*, all spiritual checks are swept away.

But deeply as one may be convinced of the necessity of a war, and profoundly grateful as one may feel for the bravery of the national troops, just as ill does it become the alleged representatives of intellectual culture to indulge in boundless glorification of war and to inveigh against the "rottenness" of peace.

Whatever the new conditions of national and international cultural effort which the war may produce, it is the work of peace alone, constructing anew, removing the debris and the dead bodies, that will consummate the achievement.

The much-talked-of rottenness can, anyway, be more effectually and radically swept away by social insight than by the alleged purifying tempest of war. Moral rottenness is most closely allied with the social conditions, with the economic differences between capital and labor, with the accumulation of riches and wretchedness. These differences are more likely to be intensified than mitigated by war,—even a victorious war, which with its milliards of war indemnity would only have the effect of letting loose a flood of speculation, and, by its conquests

due to world-policy, only be an artificial spur to capitalist expansion. Hence, the capitalist and moral rottenness will return inevitably after the war. Their extermination was, at best, a fleeting simulacrum of victory,—if it was not, which is more likely, simple self-deception.

But along with capitalism, with its old luxuriance and immorality, all other forms of rottenness celebrate their resurrection,—among them, putrid, venal pretense. Thus many a servitor of that art who is now in sackcloth and ashes and has a Teutonically virtuous demeanor, will then plunge over his ears in the mire. We witnessed that in 1870, and we shall experience it again after 1914. But if certain intellectuals throw themselves into the arms of War as into those of one who delivers them from the quiet, intellectual activity which has grown flat and stale in their eyes, and hail her as the bearer of new sensations, they vilify only themselves and not the tireless cultural labor of peace, upon which the sole hope of mankind for all future time rests!

But we should think that the war has already brought us so much of the ghastly, the awful, that the chorus of pseudo-patriotic glorifiers of war would need be struck dumb.

THE HORSE IN THE GREAT WAR

ALREADY a note of alarm has been sounded in the American press regarding the steady drain of horseflesh from the United States by foreign governments. Since the United States possesses no government breeding farms, cavalry mounts must be recruited by purchase, and if we were suddenly involved in war our Government would face a serious difficulty in this respect. The problem thus stated raises the natural question whether the horse is not rapidly being superseded in warfare by the automobile and the aeroplane, the former for transport use, and the latter for scouting, one of the main uses of bodies of cavalry.

This question is answered emphatically in the negative by Robert Michel, an Austrian war correspondent writing from the press-quarters, at the Austrian front to the *Oesterreichische Rundschau* (Vienna) of September 15. Mr. Michel says:

Only one animal, the horse, is man's real companion in war; the horse, bred thereto for thousands of years, and of proven worth therein for

thousands of years, is showing himself man's faithful comrade also in this most tremendous of all wars. Mankind has endeavored to train other animals for service in war: elephants, camels, wild beasts of prey, bulls, dogs. But none has proved so worthy as the horse. He was made use of in the most ancient wars known to us and has been man's ally in war ever since. He renders service on plains and amidst mountains, and in short, wherever men fight from the tropics to lands of ice.

While other animals, says Mr. Michel, possess the chief desideratum of courage, the horse alone displays that noble warlike courage which is amenable to soldierly discipline and free from accompanying evil qualities, such as greed and blood-lust. Answering the questions as to whether long-distance guns have put cavalry charges out of date and whether the aviator can entirely supersede the mounted scout, he says:

It has been shown from the beginning of the present war that, in spite of the valuable reconnoitering by aviators, cavalry scouting was as necessary as ever. . . . Also, there have been a surprising number of cavalry charges in this war,

and the difference between cavalry attacks of yore and those of to-day lies in the greater subtlety and enormously greater boldness now demanded. Our brave dragoons, hussars, and uhlans brook no check in their lust of battle. Even in the earliest engagements it often happened that they charged infantry even when the latter was protected by earthworks.

It had been thought that bicyclists and motorists would for the most part take the place of mounted scouts, just as powerful motor-trucks would replace artillery horses and pack-horses. All these expectations were justified in that such technical means of assistance are a welcome help to gigantic armies. None the less the same great tasks remain for the war-horse that he fulfilled in former days.

Mr. Michel even declares that the present war will prove distinctly beneficial in booming the diminishing practise of horse-breeding.

Whoever has observed the development of automobile traffic in a great city might well be anxious as to the future of the equine race. More and more handsome horses have been disappearing from the street-scenes of the metropolis, and the beautiful equipages, which, especially in Vienna, lent a living decoration to the streets of social intercourse have of late years become constantly less frequent. It might have been concluded from this that horse-breeding was doomed to decay. . . . In this respect, as in so many others, it is to be seen that the war broke out at precisely the right time. . . . This war will prove a boon to the art of horse-breeding. For it has been clearly shown that the horse is an irreplaceable companion for the soldier. . . .

It rouses the liveliest pity to reflect how little man's experience in war can avail the horse in battle. The soldier must learn, in order not to expose himself uselessly to the murderous effect

of modern guns, to protect himself as far as possible, to shoot lying down or hidden behind earthworks, to advance by crawling, to make crafty use of ridges in the ground and natural shelters furnished by the country to lessen the available target for the enemy. But the horse is hard to hide and in charging the enemy must present his great bulk as a target. . . .

Even more surely than his loyalty, can the bravery of the horse be counted upon. Though timid by nature, in battle he shows himself unafraid, and above all eager for the fray [draufgängerisch]. In the history of war many successful attacks are recorded which must be ascribed more to the wild, ungovernable rush of the horses than to the will of their riders. The aid rendered by the horse to the warrior in battle is unreckonable. If this were comprised merely in greater rapidity in advance, it would be of slight value. But it cannot be too highly estimated how much of the impetuosity and fearlessness of the horse is imparted to his rider, and how irresistibly the storm of a cavalry charge sweeps all the fellow-combatants onward. When an infantry division witnesses an attack by its own cavalry, and how menacingly the horses rush upon the hostile ranks, it thrills with an overwhelming joy of battle. At such a moment an infantry leader has no trouble in urging his troops forward.

The war-horse, especially in the cavalry and the artillery, runs tenfold the risk the soldier does. In every great battle countless horses die the death of heroes. The wounded horses, too, must mostly be sacrificed; only the slightly wounded can be cared for in the horse-hospitals.

Mr. Michel closes with an admirable suggestion that all surviving war-horses should bear on bridle or harness a tag attesting their honorable service. Such an award of merit would, he feels certain, assure their being well treated for the remainder of their days.

HOW THE SOLDIERS OF EUROPE ARE FED

NO department in the highly organized system of a modern army is more carefully planned than the commissariat. The human machine, like other machines, demands fuel to produce the heat and energy which make it effective. The quality of the fight depends largely on the quality and quantity of the food. Moreover, since the human body is a self-repairing machine, it must be furnished with fit material for tissue-mending, as well as with the stuff that is useful only for its transformability into warmth and force.

Hence a soldier's rations must be not only adequate in amount, but must be carefully balanced so as to include the right proportions of proteids, fats, sugars, and mineral salts. Careful experiment by physiologists,

plus practical tests by military men, have doubtless determined these proportions in all modern armies, and comparative tables of them are of interest both for their approximations and their differences. Such tables are given in *l'Illustration* (Paris) for August 15-22, with the boast that they show the French soldier to be the best fed of all. His minimum ration per diem, which is augmented at the discretion of the proper authorities, is as follows:

Bread, 750 gr., or biscuit, 600 gr.; salt, 20 gr.; sugar, 35 gr.; coffee, 28 gr., or tea, 4 gr.; rice, 40 gr.; dried beans, 30 gr.; fresh vegetables, 30 gr., or a 100 of vegetables; fresh meat, 500 gr. (including 125 gr. at most of bone); lard, 35 gr.

The maximum ration of German soldiers

is given as follows, but it can hardly be doubted that though called maximum it would be increased if found desirable:

Bread, 700 gr., or biscuit, 550 gr.; salt, 20 gr.; sugar, 30 gr.; coffee, 26 gr.; dried vegetables, 245 gr., or potatoes, 1500 gr.; fresh meat and bacon, 350 gr., or 250 of *charcuterie* (chopped meat).

The Belgian soldier receives the following:

Army bread (*pain de munition*), 750 gr.; salt, 30 gr.; coffee, 24 gr.; beef, 250 gr. (including bones); potatoes, 1000 gr.; butter or fat, 20 gr.; bacon, 10 gr.

The Russian is reckoned a bit differently as is shown here:

Meat on foot, 820 gr., equaling 400 gr. available for consumption; biscuit, 820 gr.; oatmeal,

205 gr.; flour (farina), 17 gr.; dried peas, 140 gr.; salt, 35 gr.

The Austro-Hungarian receives in his medium ration:

Conserves of meat and vegetables, 200 gr.; compressed bread, 400 gr.; coffee, 20 gr.; sugar, 25 gr.; salt, 25 gr.

Doubtless such differences as are seen in these tables are largely due to national differences of custom, which always plays a powerful part in dietetic matters. Their general outlines are quite similar as to amounts, it will be observed, and probably a good many civilians might find themselves improved in health if they arranged their own dietary on such stern and simple lines of the strictly adequate and rigorously non-superfluous.

THE RISE OF THE SUBMARINE

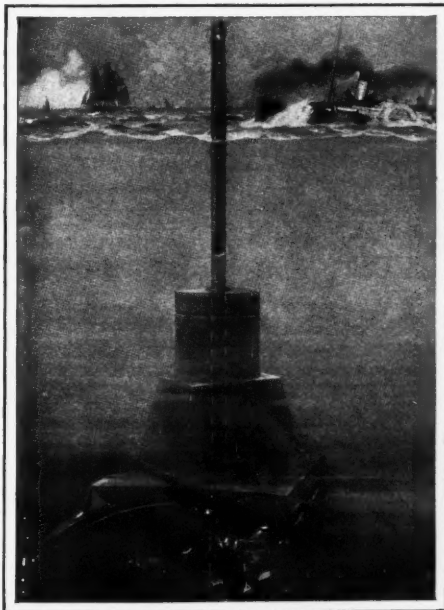
UNTIL the occurrence of the naval events of September and October, in the North Sea and the Baltic, summarized elsewhere in this number, the modern submarine boat had been untried in war, according to a writer in *Navy and Army Illustrated* (London), and few people realized either its powers or its limitations. But this under-water craft is now assuming a higher and decidedly important position in naval operations. It is interesting to read some opinions regarding the submarine in the early stages of its career.

When Fulton produced his scheme for the building of an under-water boat, his proposal was stigmatized as "revolting to every noble principle," while he himself was denounced as a "crafty, murderous villain," and his patrons were described as "openly stooping from their lofty stations to superintend the construction of detestable machines which promised destruction to maritime establishments." One writer said that Guy Fawkes had gone afloat,—he had been afloat in fire-ships long before,—and would convert dauntless tars into "submarine assass-

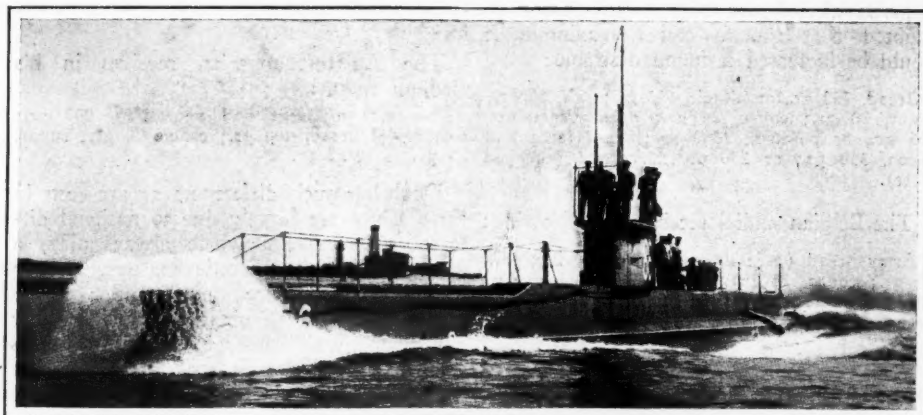
sins." Some French admirals recoiled from the use of Fulton's boats. They wished to fight like gentlemen, and not to be drowned like rats.

This is in sharp contrast to the opinion of a modern writer on naval affairs, to the effect that the submarine service offers to young and daring seamen the surest shortcut to glory and distinction. An early English view of the submarine was that under-water methods were a mode of war "which they, who commanded the seas, did not want, and which, if successful, would deprive them of that command." A First Lord of the Admiralty, in fact, once remarked that the submarine "was no weapon for Englishmen."

There was much astonishment, therefore, when the English naval estimates of 1901-2 called for five of these vessels, which were of the Holland type, like those of the first United States submarines. This type was soon greatly improved upon. There followed the A class and the B and C classes, with changes



THE "EYES" OF THE SUBMARINE, THE PERISCOPE



BRITAIN'S LATEST SUBMARINE

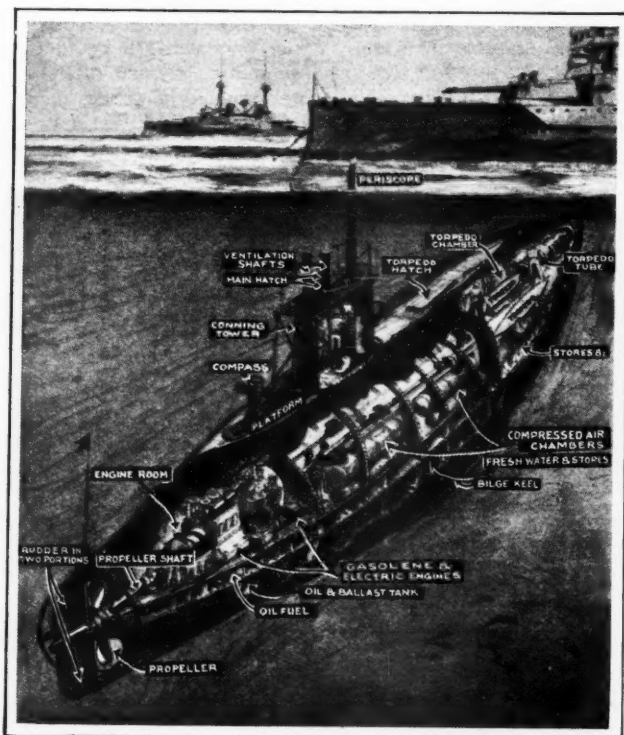
(One of the "E" class—among the largest and most powerful under-water craft in the world)

in form of hull and power of navigation both on and under the water, as well as improvements in powers of vision and in habitability. In the D and E classes there came further improvements, such as the

mounting of guns, and the installation of wireless, and an increase in size. The new F class boats have a displacement of about 940 tons on the surface and 1200 tons submerged, a speed of 12 to 20 knots, and will probably carry six torpedo tubes and two guns, besides being fitted with wireless. England has about 100 submarines, built and completing, as compared with 39 for Germany.

Contrary to what may seem to be the popular impression, the normal position of a submarine is not under water, but on the surface. On discovering the enemy, she blows out the required number of air-tanks, and descends by means of her planes. In the awash position,—that is, her deck level with the surface of the water,—the conning tower is used to observe the enemy. On nearer approach, the submarine descends until totally submerged, when her periscope is used for purposes of observation.

The slow speed of the submarine,—seldom more than about 15 miles an hour,—and the difficulty of hitting a fast-moving warship with a torpedo, particularly from a distance,



A BRITISH SUBMARINE IN SECTION

(Running with the periscope showing some eighteen inches above the surface, the officer in charge steers towards the enemy by means of the mirrors at the base of the long tube. Then he either submerges the periscope entirely and acts according to his calculations, or else goes on with the periscope exposed, until the moment comes to fire the torpedo)



A GERMAN SUBMARINE RUNNING AWASH IN A ROUGH SEA

(By blowing out a certain number of air tanks, the boat is partially submerged, only the conning tower remaining visible)

are other handicaps under which the submarine fights. Also, she must not be caught in the act of submerging, for that requires several minutes, during which she is at a disadvantage. She must also beware of the aerial scout, which can detect her even when submerged, and report her movements to the swift destroyers.

Darkness and rough sea both decrease the effectiveness of the submarine. These boats are really "blind" at night, and rough weather also is bad for making observations. Nor is the submarine expected to make long cruises alone in the open sea, but rather to accompany squadrons of warships. Secretary Daniels, of the United States Navy Department, stated last month that every extended trip of a submarine on a rolling sea is followed by a large repair bill. The mechanism of a submarine is as delicate as the works of a watch, and trips on rough seas invariably make it necessary for the Government to go to heavy expense to put the boats in shape again when they get back to port.

Mr. Thomas Edison, who was accompanying Secretary Daniels at the time, and was making his first inspection of a submarine and a dreadnought, gave it as his opinion that the submarine will doubtless soon be able to remain submerged indefinitely without coming up for air, through the installation of a battery that would draw oxygen from the sea water. Mr. Edison has just completed an electric battery for use in submarine boats which precipitates the chlorine produced by the salt water to the bottom, instead of throwing it off as gas and endangering the lives of the crew.

A naval expert in the *Illustrated London News* recalls the episode of the sinking of the Federal warship *Housatonic*, off Charles-

ton, during the American Civil War, by a Southern under-water craft. Nothing was seen of the submarine after the explosion, but years afterward she was found lying beside the hull of the *Housatonic* with the remains of the crew of nine on board. This writer reminds us that the perfection of the torpedo is closely connected with the development of the submarine, for the reason that, if the projectile of the submarine were not reliable and efficient, less importance would have been placed on the construction of submarine boats.

"The arm of the submarine," says the *Scientific American*, "is the automobile torpedo, of which several may be carried. They are discharged through torpedo tubes located in the front of the boat. A long-range torpedo is not required, for the reason that the submarine is able to approach quite closely to the ship she is to attack, provided the ship is at anchor or cruising at a slow pace."

So effective and deadly has the submarine become, that Sir Percy Scott, the noted English naval expert, recently declared that it sounded the knell of the big war ship, and to go on building Dreadnoughts was "sheer waste of public money."

This view is not shared by all naval experts. The two types of vessels, according to some opinions, may well turn out to supplement each other, and both thus retain an assured and valuable place in naval operations. The present conflict will no doubt do much to determine both the tactics and the status of the under-sea fighter. There is at least a considerable moral effect produced by the uncanny method of the submarine's attack, and the recent exploits of this class of craft have beyond doubt greatly increased the general respect in which it is held.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PANIC IN WAR

THAT wild, unreasoning fear which at times sweeps through an assemblage of people suddenly confronted by some terrible danger, such as fire, shipwreck, or earthquake, was as well known to the ancients as to the moderns. But whereas the former ascribed it to the god Pan and his airy legions, whence our word panic, the latter have classified and analyzed it as a manifestation of "mass-psychology."

Though heterogeneous crowds such as those in theaters or on boats are most liable to be attacked by panic, there are many instances recorded,—and doubtless many more suppressed by military authorities,—where orderly and disciplined bodies of men, such as well-drilled troops, have fled in mad confusion caused by this same subtle emotion. The Greeks, in fact, gave Pan credit largely for the victory of Marathon and the rout of the Persians at Salamis.

A timely article on panic among soldiers appears in the July number of the *Deutsche Revue* (Berlin). The writer, Mr. H. Sartorius, quotes freely from the well-known French authority, Le Bon, author of "The Psychology of Crowds" (*Psychologie des Foules*). Le Bon terms such a crowd as that in the Paris Bazaar or the Vienna Ring Theater animated by a common fear, a "psychologic mass." Dr. Hans Gudden, in his book "On Mass Suggestion" thus defines the term: "A psychologic mass is a gathering of people impressed by, and in a measure organized by, a definite, common stimulus." Thus an ordinary crowd in a department store may be transformed into a psychologic mass by the outbreak of a fire or a cry of "Stop thief!" This mass then possesses what Le Bon calls "a collective soul of definite though transitory character," and this collective soul is subject to the law of the mental unity of crowds.

Mr. Sartorius thus comments on these premises:

However similar or dissimilar its individual units may be, the components of the psychologic mass are all subdued to the "collective soul," so that they feel and act quite differently from the way they would as individuals. In merely momentary membership of a psychologic mass men descend many rounds on the ladder of civilization. They possess the spontaneity, the violence, the wildness, but also the enthusiasm and heroism of primitive beings.

He remarks further that it is never the intellectual characteristics which dominate

such a crowd, and such masses of men never achieve deeds demanding high intellectual effort. As Le Bon puts it pithily: "It is stupidity and not cleverness that accumulates in masses." In analyzing the causes of this change of individual souls to a mass-soul Mr. Sartorius continues:

Every mass exhibits a certain degree of power which is greater than that of any of its members, who become conscious of this fact. They feel their power and believe themselves free from all restraints which would hinder the execution of their plans. This is why the crowd so often becomes violent, as we see in revolutions and in strikes. Since the mass, moreover, desires the immediate fulfilment of its will, without taking into account the natural inhibitions, and since it is also lacking in the sense of responsibility, it often seizes the most unheard of means. . . .

The second cause is the imitative impulse, which dominates men, as, in a higher degree, it does animals. Susceptibility to intellectual contagion varies greatly among people. In crowds this contagion is heightened by the fact that one infects another and the influence comes from all sides. This psychic infection is a weakened form of suggestion, or even of hypnosis.

In this connection the writer points out that in such cases a leader is usually needed to give the needed stimulus, but if this leader loses his prestige the mob drags him from his pedestal, for its soul is whimsical, changeable, and "feminine," and he quotes Le Bon (himself a Frenchman) as saying: "Everywhere the mass is feminine, but the Latins are the most feminine of all."

Turning from these general considerations of the qualities of the heterogeneous mass he considers the "military mass," i.e., an assemblage which however different in origin and calling, has been welded together into a homogeneous whole by military instruction, training, and drill, and thus transformed into an organized mass. He then discusses the origin of mass-terror, i.e., panic.

A few specially sensitive persons are suddenly seized by fright. They give expression by gestures or cries to their inner terror. The bystanders have their thoughts already directed into the same channels, they are infected, and succumb to the same terror. Their fright serves to heighten that of the first group. The mass is penetrated by the same thought; it becomes a psychologic mass. The instinct of self-preservation is strongly aroused, fright causes certain physiologic results in the brain (e.g., lack of blood-supply), and produces psychomotor stimuli which cause unconscious violent motions, gestures, and cries. The mass ceases to think, to remember, or to judge, the emotions alone become dominant. The visions of the imagination, not restrained by the intellect, acquire hypnotic power.

Mr. Sartorius hereupon proceeds to give a number of historical examples of panic among troops, after reminding us that military authorities are always reluctant to acknowledge such instances. He observes, too, that the troops seized by panic were nearly always in a previous state of mind or body which rendered them favorable to transformation from an organized mass to a disorganized psychologic mass. In conclusion he says:

We have seen how French and Italians, how English and Russians, and finally how Austrian

and German troops fell prey to panic. No race characteristic is a protection from the super-power of the mass. . . .

Lastly, panic may be checked by officers firing on their own men or by sublime confidence and courage on the part of the leaders, and by implicit trust and obedience on the part of the troops, to be obtained by drill, and by instruction or training other than mere mechanical drill. In the words of von Moltke: "Authority from above and obedience from below,—in a word, discipline is the very soul of the army."

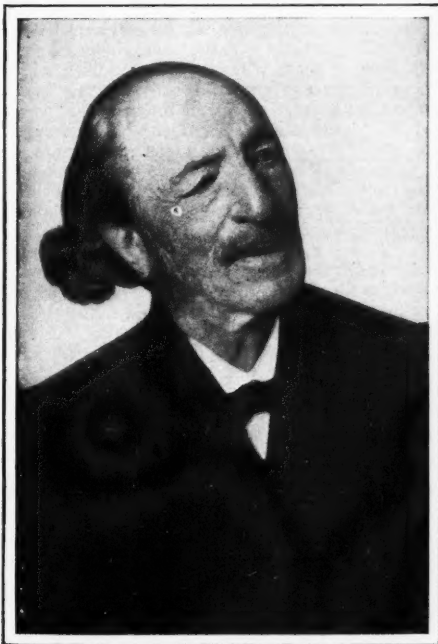
ONE OF GERMANY'S GREAT EDITORS: JULIUS RODENBERG

AT the ripe age of eighty-three Julius Rodenberg, editor of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, has just passed away, leaving the splendid record of forty years of brilliant achievement in his chosen field. The August and September numbers of the *Rundschau*, founded by him in 1874, contain tributes uttered at his funeral by his friends, Max Lenz and Bruno Hake. Mr. Hake, who now assumes control of the magazine, spoke in part as follows:

What distinguished Julius Rodenberg as an editor was that he was not governed by a fixed and confining program, but rather sought freely to search out and welcome every new phenomenon and movement. When he saw any real gift he aided and furthered without impatience, shunning no trouble of long correspondence or repeated readings. He rewarded those who rendered him service with unwavering loyalty. He regarded his efforts as a duty towards those great masters whom he emulated, and as a duty towards the nation. . . . For in the *Rundschau* he desired, in correspondence with external political unity, to give expression in the written word to the national unity.

Mr. Lenz's words were more personal in tone. He spoke of *grace*—the German word implies both the graceful and the gracious—as Rodenberg's most marked characteristic, a quality displayed in his verse and in his prose, in his friendships, in his hospitality, in his gifts, in his acceptances, and even in his rejections. An interesting remark, confirming Mr. Hake's statement, was that the name first proposed for the *Rundschau* was *Vienna and Berlin*. Perhaps the most striking part of his brief address was his glowing tribute to Rodenberg's mother as the chief formative influence in his intellectual and spiritual life.

It was she who inspired him and his brothers and sisters with this love of the poets, as he tells us in his "Memories of Youth," so that they entered into their lives quite personally. "We were, if I may say so, brought up with their verses." . . . Goethe was the leader of his life, and Weimar always his intellectual center. And here again . . . it was his mother who introduced the poet and made him a living being. For Goethe was her own guide and remained so to the end of her life. It was through him that this clever, clear-sighted, warm-hearted woman was lifted above the narrow surroundings in which she grew up and lived; she knew every line he wrote; he was, as Rodenberg writes, the friend of her last lonely days.



THE LATE JULIUS RODENBERG
(Editor of the *Deutsche Rundschau*)

ZAPATA AND MEXICO'S AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

ZAPATA has been the man of mystery in the Mexican revolutions. He has alternately been represented as a bandit, as a mere ignorant peón in revolt, as a revolutionary leader worthy of serious consideration. Revolutions have arisen, have succeeded or failed; provisional presidents, and presidents claiming constitutional election, have set up their authority in Mexico City, and have then been killed or have fled to European refuge; while Zapata has held steadfastly to Morelos, ruling a great state in apparently unassailable security, plainly having resources at his command of the kind which are the ultimate resources of a popular rebellion—loyalty to his cause and freely contributed products of the soil for the support of his followers. He sallies forth and harries adjoining territory; he menaces the very capital and then retires; he has a formidable army to-day and to-morrow he cannot be found.

It reminds one forcibly of the war of the Vendée. Every new revolutionary leader claims his support; in the end it transpires that Zapata is still resisting the conservative program which each new aspirant inaugurates as soon as he attains to actual executive power. Madero, Orozco, Carranza, even Huerta, have successively pretended alliance with Zapata, but presently the world hears of the Zapata movement going on as before. He is accused of operating for loot, for the joy of a sort of organized banditry; he is declared to have no higher aim than anarchy, such as Magón has persistently preached to the Mexican proletariat; but the fact that Morelos, a rich, populous, agricultural state, supports him year in and year out argues a deeper purpose and a program of some sort which makes a popular appeal.

Zapata has figured in the press chiefly through the misrepresentations of his enemies or of men ambitious to win his aid. At last he has been heard from in his own proper person in a manifesto issued in the *Voz de Juárez* ("The Voice of Juárez") of Mexico City, on August 20, the very day after Carranza's triumphal entry into the capital. Here we have the real word of the leader of the poor peones of the South: we see that he stands for an agrarian revolution, demanding results immediate and effective; insisting upon deeds, not words. Whatever one may think of his disregard of what we call vested rights, we must admit that he has

a clear vision of the wrongs of the down-trodden poor, and that he is in no doubt as to the kind of restitution that would rectify the evil. He has probably voiced his opinions through the pen of some schoolmaster among his followers. Here are extracts from his manifesto that present the more striking of his arguments:

This agrarian revolution is not being fought to gratify the ambitions of one person, nor a group of persons, nor of a political party. It is of deeper origin, and has higher aims. The man of the fields was hungry and full of misery; he had been exploited beyond endurance, and at last he took up arms to win the bread which the rich in their greed denied him; to obtain possession of the lands which were in the grasp of the selfish proprietors; and to recover his manhood which the slave-driver so long had outraged. He embarked upon revolution, not to win illusory political rights which fail to provide food, but to procure a bit of ground which would yield him bread, liberty, a home, independence, and a chance to get ahead. . . . Those who think that the establishment of a military government, that is, a despotic government, will assure the pacification of the country, are sadly mistaken. This can be accomplished only by rendering every element of the old régime impotent, and by creating new interests closely united with the revolution, sharing its dangers and its prosperity.

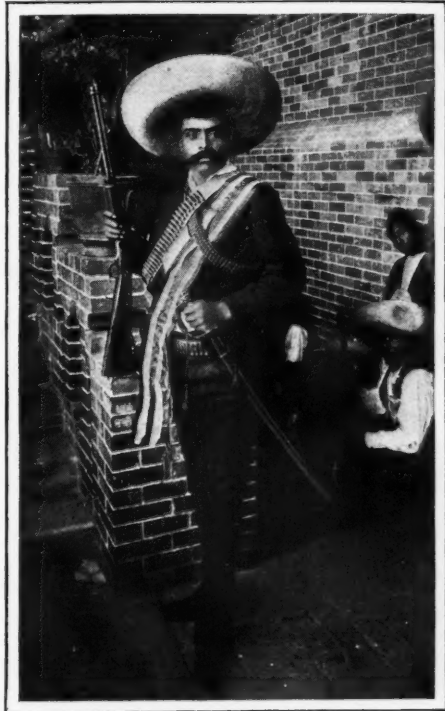
The first thing to be accomplished is the exemplary punishment of the old leaders, the guilty men of influence, the intellectual advisers of the conservative faction, and the subdivision of their lands, leaving them without resources with which to foment their plans and provoke revolution. The greater part, if not all of the territory, which must be "nationalized" represents land wrested from small proprietors with the connivance of the Diaz dictatorship. The second aim is the restitution of these lands to their original individual owners, and to the indigenous communities or pueblos. This great act of justice will be followed by presenting those who never had anything with a portion of the lands confiscated from the accomplices of dictatorship, or expropriated from the spendthrift heirs of the old land-robbers, who do not even trouble themselves to cultivate their inheritance. Thus will the hunger for land and the appetite for liberty, which are felt from one end of the Republic to the other, be satisfied. This will be the formidable reply to the savagery of the landed proprietors who, in the twentieth century, in the heart of free America, have maintained a system of exploitation which would scarcely have been borne by the most unhappy serfs of the Middle Ages. To deprive the enemy of the means of fomenting future disorder was the wise policy of the reformers of 1857 (Lerdo de Tejada, Juárez, Comonfort, Zuloaga) when the clergy were despoiled of their immense estates.

Zapata declares that the country will not be fooled again by "electoral pantomime":

During the last four years the people have

learned some never-to-be-forgotten lessons, and have awakened to a knowledge of the causes of their unfortunate condition and to an understanding of the means for overcoming it. They will not be satisfied with the feeble reforms mildly suggested by Isidro Fabela, so-called Minister of Foreign Affairs under the government of Carranza, who is a revolutionist in name only. The country will not be flattered by a niggardly programme of reform in land taxation, when the urgent matter is the radical solution of the problem of their cultivation. The country wants something more than the vague promises of Señor Fabela, supplemented by nothing better than Señor Carranza's astute silence. It aims to break at once with the feudal epoch. It aims to destroy at one stroke the relations of master and serf, of overseer and slave, which obtains from Tamaulipas to Chiapas and from Sonora to Yucatán.

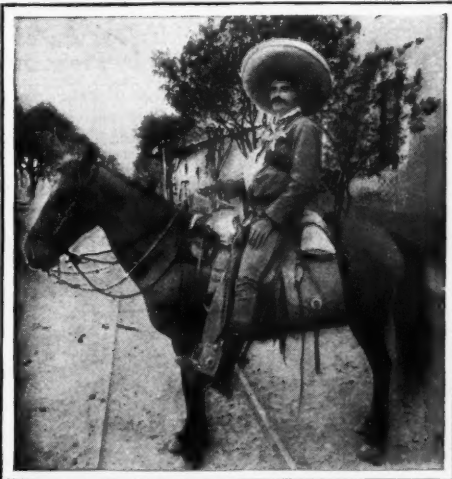
The masses of our people desire to live under conditions of civilization, to breathe the air of economic liberty which they have never enjoyed, and which will remain unknown to them if they leave in authority a traditional "Señor" of the old régime, disposing according to his pleasure of the persons of his laborers, held down by pitifully insignificant wage, and brutalized by poverty and ill-treatment. . . . "Administrative reform" for those who have no share in government, "liberty of the press" for those who do not know how to read and write, "freedom of the ballot" for those who do not know the candidates, "correct administration of justice" for those who never employ a lawyer,—these democratic graces, these fine words which used to tickle our grandfathers, have lost their charm for the people of to-day. They have come to realize that with elections or without them, with suffrage or without it, with dictatorship and a gagged press or with liberty of the press, always and under all conditions they continue ruminating on their bitterness, enduring their hardships, stifling as best they can their never-ending humiliations. That is why they fear that the self-styled liberators of to-day will be like the autocratic of yesterday, who made seductive promises on starting out



GENERAL EMILIANO ZAPATA, OF SOUTHERN MEXICO

from the City of Juárez but forgot them when once within the National Palace. . . .

On this account the agrarian revolution, distrustful the chiefs who have taken to themselves the airs of conquerors, has adopted the wise precaution to require that all the revolutionary chieftains of the entire country shall participate in the naming of a president *ad interim* for calling the elections, for it is clear that upon the *ad interim* president depends the future of the revolution and the fate of the Republic. What more just than that all the interested representatives of a nation in arms should unite in the designation of the functionary to whose keeping shall be entrusted the Tabernacle of revolutionary promises and the Ark of the Covenant with the yearning people? Why this fear on the part of the so-called Constitutionlists to pass through the crucible of revolutionary revision and to render tribute to the democratic principle of free discussion of a candidate to represent all the people? . . . This hesitancy, in addition to being disloyal, is perilous, for the Mexican people have thrown off their indifference, have recovered their manhood, and will not permit a government to be erected in which they have no voice. There is still time to reflect and to avoid further conflict. If the First Chief of the Constitutionlists thought that he possessed the necessary popularity for winning the votes of the revolutionary leaders he would not hesitate to submit the question to their decision; and if the Constitutionlists actually care for the welfare of the people and realize their necessities they would yield obedience to their sovereign will, accepting with sincerity and



GENERAL EUPHONIO ZAPATA, BROTHER AND CO-WORKER WITH THE FAMOUS EMILIANO

without subterfuge the three great principles of the Plan de Ayala, namely, expropriation of lands as a public utility, expropriation of goods from the enemies of the people, and restitution of their lands to the pueblos and communities.

Unless this be done the masses will continue their movement, and the war will go on in Morelos, in Guerrero, in Oaxaca, in Tlaxcala, in Michoacán, in Hidalgo, Guanajuato, Tamaulipas, Durango, Zacatecas, Chihuahua—until we have recovered the pieces of land which the false "liberators" have always denied us. . . . The agrarian revolution, calumniated by the hostile press, unknown in Europe, and comprehended with little

exactitude by North American statesmen, lifts up the banner of its ideals in order that all who have been defrauded may see it, and that our enemies may contemplate it.

This ringing declaration of principles, free from ambiguous statement as befits the protest of reformers, closes with as profound a recognition of law as characterized the utterances of Juárez, in an apostrophe to "Reform, Liberty, Justice, and Law." It is signed by Emiliano Zapata, twenty-eight of his generals, and seven colonels.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINES

IN the preceding pages reference has been made to articles on the great war which are appearing in foreign periodicals. These articles are especially interesting as revealing diverse points of view held by the peoples involved in the contest. It must not be supposed, however, that it is necessary to go to European reviews to find lucid expositions of the underlying causes of the struggle. Sane and well-reasoned discussions of the war are appearing from month to month in the popular American monthlies, as well as in the more seriously inclined reviews. In the November *Century*, for example, one may read "Germany's Destiny," by Samuel P. Orth; "The Breakdown of Civilization," by W. Morgan Shuster; and "In the War Cloud: the Coming of the Storm in England," by H. Fielding-Hall, besides an editorial discussion which holds up to view a possible Russo-German alliance as an outcome of the present conflict.

In the *Atlantic* there is an article entitled "The European Tragedy," by Guglielmo Ferrero. In the same magazine H. L. Mencken writes on "The Mailed Fist and Its Prophet" (Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche); J. O. P. Bland on "British Liberalism and the War," and Professor Kuno Francke on "German Literature and the American Temper,"—the last-named article having been finished before the outbreak of war in Europe.

Scribner's for October was the vehicle of

a deliverance by Sir Henry Norman, M. P., on the subject of "Armageddon—the Forging of a Great Peace." The same magazine had an illuminating illustrated article on the United States Navy by Rear-Admiral Schroeder. The most prominent place in *Scribner's* for several months has been given to Colonel Roosevelt's illustrated articles relating his experiences in the Brazilian wilderness. The October number contains his description of the famous "River of Doubt."

In *Munsey's* for November there are illustrated articles entitled, respectively, "Royalty on the Firing Line," by Winthrop Bidle; "Engines of Destruction Born of War," by Howard C. Felton; and "Europe's Mighty Fortifications," by George F. Brett.

The current number of the *Unpopular Review* (New York: Henry Holt & Co.) contains three war articles written from the viewpoints of an historian, an economist, and a man in the street. We have quoted on another page from the articles contributed to the *North American Review* by Professor Roland G. Usher and Mr. T. Lothrop Stoddard. The same review contains articles on "Early Lessons of the War," by A. Maurice Low; "Italy and the Triple Alliance," by Robert H. Fife, Jr.; and "The War and Cotton," by C. T. Revere. Both the October and November numbers of the *Forum* have general articles on the causes of the war and the trend of social and economic tendencies revealed by the outbreak.



THE NEW BOOKS

DISCUSSIONS RELATING TO THE WAR

PROFESSOR HUGO MÜNSTERBURG has gathered his various letters contributed to the newspapers during the past three months, together with considerable other historical material, into a lucid and authoritative book, "The War and America." From the German point of view he reveals the true inside of the war, its motives and issues, and their vital meaning for America. The author requests that Americans withhold judgment until they have read his book, or some equally impartial statement of the necessitous reasons that have forced Germany into a terrific conflict. His statement of the case for Germany is well reasoned and entirely plausible, if the reader admits the four major premises of his argument to be true. These premises are: First, the ever-impending calamity to Germanic culture and commercialism from the Slavs. He sees Russia as the one threatening nation and as the real maker of the war. For Russia to win in the present struggle would mean, in his opinion, the wiping out of the achievements of the Western World, the triumph of Asian barbarism, the sweeping over Europe of hordes of Japanese, Chinese, and Hindus. Second, the necessity for the expansion of German civilization into territory that shall be, if not an integral part, at least under the control of the German Empire. Third, the postulate of the state as the ideal unit. Fourth, the right of a nation entrenched in the belief in the purity of its moral will to enforce that will upon the world as it sees fit, regardless of treaties, and humanism. Professor Münsterberg's defense of the violation of Belgium follows the argument of the last premise. He writes: "Germany did what any other state would have done . . . But Germany could do it with a clean conscience; it did not violate the higher laws of honor."

The most pregnant pages of this book are concerned with a theory as to how we shall be able to abolish war. This can be accomplished, Professor Münsterberg thinks, by "eliminating territorialism," by arranging the land surface of the earth so that no nation could "possess land any more than the socialistic individual would possess capital."

It would not be worth while to bother about the extent to which "Dr. Armgaard Karl Graves, Secret Agent," tells literal truth, and the extent to which his book is fiction of the political detective kind that Oppenheim and other writers have fabricated with such cleverness and with so marked an effect upon the British public, which now finds German spies and secret agents not only in the cities but in every rustic hamlet. The book ("Secrets of the German War Office") is the more impressive because it was written and sent to press a few weeks previous to the outbreak of the great war. Its chapters throw sidelights upon those unhappy international complications that led

up to the final tragedy. Furthermore, it has real value in helping the reader to understand how great an evil is secret diplomacy, and what calamities are brought upon the honest mass of people by the scheming marplots of the foreign offices and military intelligence bureaus, who fancy that they are protecting and saving their countries when in reality they are largely creating the difficulties that lead to catastrophe. Alliances, secret understandings, mysterious diplomacy,—all these things are as abominable as the assassinations of the Middle Ages.²

Professor Lawrence is an English student of international law whose general textbook on that subject is much used in this country. He has now given us an exceedingly useful volume, entitled "Documents Illustrative of International Law."³ Although this collection was prepared before the outbreak of the present European war, its materials are of great convenience, especially in the chapters which present the laws of war and those affecting questions of neutrality. The important Hague conventions and treaties are given in full, and extracts are presented from a vast number of treaties, laws, and documents that relate to the more important topics of international concern.

General Bernhardt's "Germany and the Next War," from which extracts are made in an article by Lord Bryce reproduced on page 613 of this REVIEW, was noticed in our September number. This is a book that has been most widely read in both England and the United States, and sets forth from the German point of view the *why* of the great war. The *how* of the war is the topic of General Bernhardt's second book, which now appears in the form of an abridged translation of "On War of To-Day," the abridgment being entitled "How Germany Makes War."⁴ It is needless to say that this, like his other book, was written by General Bernhardt some time before the war began. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether any material change is required in the text because of developments since the last day of July. It is a remarkable exposition of German military methods and all that we have learned through the press despatches since the outbreak of the war has tended to confirm the statements that General Bernhardt makes regarding the purpose and use of the various arms of the service as understood and taught by the German military autocracy.

"Germany and England"⁵ is the title of a little work written by an Englishman, J. A. Cramb,

² The Secrets of the German War Office. By Dr. Armgaard Karl Graves. New York: McBride, Nast & Co. 256 pp. \$1.50.

³ Documents Illustrative of International Law. By T. J. Lawrence. D. C. Heath & Co. 362 pp. \$2.

⁴ How Germany Makes War. By Frederick von Bernhardt. Doran. 263 pp. \$1.25.

⁵ Germany and England. By J. A. Cramb. Dutton. 151 pp. \$1.

¹ The War and America. By Hugo Münsterberg. Appleton's. 210 pp. \$1.

M.A., late Professor of Modern History at Queen's College, London, about a year ago, and now published in this country with a preface by the Hon. Joseph H. Choate. This book has been advertised as a reply to Bernhardt. It is, however, rather an interpretation to English minds of that militant German's doctrines. It should prove useful as a means of acquainting Englishmen with the real meaning of modern German imperialism. Field Marshal Roberts has advised his compatriots to read the book, since nowhere else, in his opinion, are the forces which led to the war so clearly set forth.

One of the interesting books of the European situation is "The Unseen Empire," a play by Atherton Brownell, a work that pictures the far-reaching influences of the system of European militarism and emphasizes the part that American moral force and diplomacy may have in negotiating for world peace and bringing about the reconstruction of government that will permit general disarmament. The late Baroness Von Suttner wrote of this work: "It is a play which the peace movement has been longing for. I knew it long since that universal peace will be led to triumph by the New World."

GERMAN CIVILIZATION

THE part that education has played in the enormous commercial development of Germany is summarized and analyzed in "Commercial Education in Germany," by Frederic Ernest Farrington, Ph.D.² There cannot remain much surprise in the mind of the thoughtful person over the amazing transformation of the German people from an agricultural nation to an industrial nation in the last fifty years, when the methods by which this transformation has been effected are studied. It has been the result of an exact system,—a veritable science of applied economics that begins in Germany in the schools with the small children and works up through the various branches of higher education until it bears fruit in an ever-increasing commercial nationalism. This carefully organized scheme of commercial education presents the bright side of the German paternalistic government,—its proper application and natural scope. Mr. Farrington's study shows clearly that paternalistic government fails in its workings with the higher idealistic values, just as organized religion fails when it overlooks the absolute individualism that is demanded in the consideration of spiritual matters. In detail this excellent work treats of the general educational system of Ger-

many, its commercial schools, colleges of commerce, the "apprentice's indenture," and quotes a lesson in commercial English given to the classes in the Busch Institute at Hamburg.

Ideals of German culture more or less lost sight of in the clash of war emerge in a book by Wassily Kandinsky, "The Art of Spiritual Harmony." Kandinsky is a painter, a leader of the new-art movement in Munich, a member of the group of men that includes poets, critics, musicians, dramatists, and artists of the brush and chisel who strive to express by their various mediums the inner essence of life, the "soul of nature and humanity." He endeavors to present color-music, painting that does not aim primarily at representation, but at awakening the soul-energy of the individual. In his art, colors have each a separate psychic existence which he explains in detail by diagrams. One of Kandinsky's boldest paintings, "Improvisation," was exhibited at the exhibition at the 69th Regiment Armory, New York, in the spring of 1912. This work is now in the A. J. Eddy collection in Chicago. An excellent interpretative preface is the work of M. T. H. Sadler.³

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BY one of those coincidences that are not infrequent in the annals of publishing, four of this season's books, each issued from a different house, are concerned with the immigrant's impressions of America. Three of the four are autobiographies of men who have wrought out their careers in the new world and have become useful citizens of their adopted country; the fourth is an observant Englishman's description of Russian immigrant life and of the opportunities offered by the American Republic to the poor of many nationalities.⁴ Mr. S. S. McClure, the publisher, was only nine years old when he left his birthplace in the North of Ireland to come with his widowed mother to make a new home in Indiana. His story is quite as entertaining as a novel of adventure, and in fact Mr. McClure in his youth was a typical boys' hero,—he made headway

against serious obstacles and conquered adversity in the approved fashion.⁵ "A Far Journey" tells the experience of a Syrian, Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, who landed at New York twenty years ago with nine cents in his pocket and is to-day the pastor of a famous Boston church.⁶ Dr. Edward A. Steiner, of Grinnell College, Iowa, who was born an Austrian Jew, has had a life history not less remarkable; it is well told in his latest book, "From Alien to Citizen."⁷ It is a new thing to have the immigrant's point of view thus frankly stated by men whose coming to a new country had been among the most vital experiences of their lives. The sidelights that these autobiographies throw on the immigration problem are many and valuable.

¹ The Unseen Empire. By Atherton Brownell. Harper's. \$1.25.

² Commercial Education in Germany. By Frederic Ernest Farrington. Macmillan. 258 pp. \$1.10.

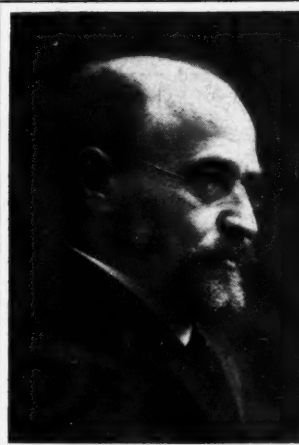
³ The Art of Spiritual Harmony. By Wassily Kandinsky. Houghton, Mifflin. 112 pp. \$1.75.

⁴ With Poor Immigrants to America. By Stephen Graham. Macmillan. 306 pp. \$2.00.

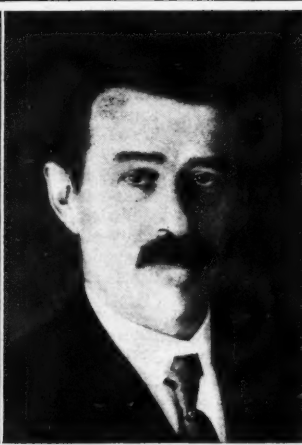
⁵ My Autobiography. By S. S. McClure. Stokes. 266 pp. \$1.75.

⁶ A Far Journey. By Abraham Mitrie Rihbany. Houghton, Mifflin. 352 pp. \$1.75.

⁷ From Alien to Citizen. By Edward A. Steiner. Revell. 332 pp. \$1.50.



EDWARD A. STEINER
("From Alien to Citizen")



A. M. RIBBANY
("A Far Journey")



S. S. M'CLURE
("My Autobiography")

THREE SUCCESSFUL IMMIGRANT-AUTHORS

A new Tolstoy book, with the most intimate touch possible, that of the hand of one of his own family, has just appeared,—*"Reminiscences of Tolstoy,"* by his son, Count Ilya Tolstoy.¹ The author recollects practically all of the life of his great father that is known to the world. He writes with a directness that is positively illuminating to the story. There are illustrations, many of them new to English and American readers. The translation has been made by George Calderon.

Around the prophets of the "inward word," around the men who struggled valiantly for a genuine spiritual religion, Professor Rufus M. Jones has built his inspiring book, *"Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."* Starting from the main current of the Reformation, he traces the division of spiritual forces

which he terms one of the greatest tragedies of Christian history. His first idea for the volume was a lengthy study of the great German mystic, Jacob Boehme, and his influence; but as his research continued, he found that Boehme was but one of a group that must in justice include such men as Hans Denck, Bunderlin, and Entfelder, Sebastian Franck, Caspar Swenckfeld, Castello, Weigel, and the entire group of the early English interpreters of spiritual religion that begins with Thomas Everard and ends with Thomas Traherne and the other spiritual poets of the seventeenth century. The reader will feel, after reviewing the lives of these men, as the author of this book felt upon the completion of his task, that "It has been a privilege to live for a little while with this succession of high-minded men" who "succeeded in finding a living God."²

OTHER NOTEWORTHY BOOKS

AMONG the readable and suggestive books concerned with American politics and political problems that have recently come from the press are James Davenport Whelpley's *"American Public Opinion,"* including, besides the author's recent contributions to the *Fortnightly Review* and the *Century Magazine*, important essays on the Monroe Doctrine and American Foreign Relations;³ Professor William Milligan Sloane's *"Party Government in the United States of America,"* giving not only the history of American politics, but a discussion of the relations of actual party management in this country to the various departments of government;⁴ *State and County Educational Reorganization,* by Professor Ellwood P. Cubberley (being a model State constitution and school code);⁵ *"American Citizenship,"* by Professor Charles A. Beard and Mary Ritter Beard (an ex-

cellent high-school text-book);⁶ and *"Applied City Government: the Principles and Practice of City Charter Making,"* by Professor James, of the University of Texas.⁷

The account of the English suffrage militancy, as Mrs. Pankhurst has seen it, is now given us in the words of the chief actor herself,—*"Mrs. Pankhurst's Own Story"* by title. The earnestness and sincerity of the militants and their "uncompromising bumptiousness" are shown on every page. Mrs. Pankhurst, in closing, refers to the truce

³ *American Public Opinion.* By James Davenport Whelpley. Dutton. 274 pp. \$2.50.

⁴ *Party Government in the United States of America.* By William Milligan Sloane. Harpers. 451 pp. \$2.

⁵ *State and County Educational Reorganization.* By Ellwood P. Cubberley. Macmillan. 257 pp. \$1.25.

⁶ *American Citizenship.* By Charles A. Beard and Mary Ritter Beard. Macmillan. 330 pp., ill. \$1.

⁷ *Applied City Government. The Principles and Practice of City Charter Making.* By Herman G. James. Harpers. 106 pp. 75 cents.

¹ *Reminiscences of Tolstoy.* By Count Ilya Tolstoy. Century. 405 pp., ill. \$2.50.

² *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries.* By Rufus M. Jones. Macmillan. 362 pp. \$3.

from militancy declared under the stress of foreign war. One thing, however, is certain, she says, "After the war militancy on the part of the women will be unnecessary. No future government will repeat the mistakes and brutalities of the Asquith ministry."¹

Richard Curle writes a sympathetic study of Joseph Conrad.² One pithy sentence will explain much that baffles the average reader upon reading Conrad, namely, that while his "artistic methods are always changing his artistic aims are constant." If the reader will study the Conrad novels with this statement in mind, much that seems tedious and roundabout in his literary method will be understood. His great skill as well as positive genius is in creating an atmosphere out of the subtleties of his imagination that will leap out like flame and envelop that of his reader. All the mechanisms, the bypaths, the improbabilities of his method, Mr. Curle shows to be but a part of his surety of intellectual grip on the "essentials of romantic verity." He considers that Conrad belongs to the Franco-Slav tradition, that he is the holder of a dual personality, a rare blend of genius whose star is but beginning to rise upon the literary horizon of the world.

"They Who Question" is a stirring novel that endeavors to answer the question that is just now pressing upon the world so heavily—How can a just God permit so much unmerited human suffering? The book is published anonymously, but it is the work of a seasoned mind and a practised hand.³

Mr. Paul H. Neystrom has prepared for the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin a specialized volume that deals with the problem of retail distribution,—"Retail Selling and Store Management."⁴ Successful policies and practises are considered and educative methods outlined for the employers to give their salespeople for the purpose of increasing their efficiency. The author thinks that the problem of the untrained employee cannot be solved through the European apprentice system, but that the solution will come through the public schools, where salesmanship and the general principles of retailing must be taught along with other vocations.

Pierre Loti's lament over the destruction of the ancient fane of Philæ by the encroaching waters of the Nile comes in a fascinating book entitled "Egypt (La Mort de Philæ)."⁵ The beauty and fervor of Loti's prose is well known. He sketches the temples, the ancient monuments of Egypt, with a feeling for that beauty which is the greatest of all,—beauty fallen to decay. Throughout his mournful dirge over splendor that has passed away, he sounds the note of the new Egypt that is awakening to perfected agricultural and commercial development, which he hopes will in time bring about the building of monuments that will again challenge the admiration of the world.

¹ Mrs. Pankhurst's Own Story. By Emmeline Pankhurst. New York: Hearst's International Library Company. 364 pp., ill. \$2.

² Joseph Conrad. By Richard Curle. Doubleday, Page. 235 pp. \$1.25.

³ They Who Question. Anon. Macmillan. 42 pp. \$1.25 net.

⁴ Retail Selling and Store Management. By Paul Neystrom. D. Appleton and Co. 279 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ Egypt. By Pierre Loti. Duffield. 309 pp. \$1.50.

"In the Heart of the Meadow"⁶ is the fourth book of poems by Thomas O'Hagan, a well-known Canadian writer. They are religious poems full of helpfulness and pleasantly lyrical with a tranquil slow music. The author of the foreword, Mr. J. W. Longley, has not been browsing among the flock of American poets who grace the last decade. He writes: "In the United States amid the numbers who write poetry there cannot be found any equal to Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, or Bryant," and "though the population of the Republic to the south of us is ten times that of Canada, it certainly has not to-day ten times as many inspired singers."

There seem to be in reality only two kinds of poetry, that which Matthew Arnold called "the poetry of the builders of an age of prose and reason" and the poetry that is sheer lark-music informing the world only of its own loveliness. Sometimes the ability to write both has existed simultaneously in one person, as in Shelley, whose purest melodic flights alternated with his strivings to write poetry that should reshape the morals and the politics of his time, but the work of most poets is definitely of one kind or the other. The first often fails in its high intention, which according to Wordsworth is to reveal the "breath and finer spirit of all knowledge"; the second, seemingly without intention, lifts out of its passionate singing the apparitions of beauty that impress the age into an archetypal form and semblance. It is for this reason that we stumble over Dryden and find that the "snows of yesteryear" cling in our memories.

In "Poems of Human Progress"⁷ Mr. James Harcourt West has been more successful in the kind of poesy which Arnold has defined, but not to the exclusion of lyrical music. Many of the sonnets are admirable and invite comparison with Wordsworth. Among them one addressed to "The Story-teller and the Poet" is well worth remembering.

"Shall he his trust betray in whom the spark
Imperious, creative, urges 'Write'?—
Content with artful form and glowworm light
While dowered Prometheus-like to lume the Dark
With godlike radiance? Lift your vision! Hark,
O Story-teller Poet—ye whose sight
Gives you to lessen Man's inglorious plight
And lure his blindfold eyes to spyemark!
Sound ye the Word that shall transform men's
thought
'Till they, enfranchised, learn that lowliest deed
For human brotherhood is loftier prize
Than ocean contours for which kings have fought,
Or gold, the pallid recompense of greed.
Dimmed are Self's torches held 'gainst Love's
clear skies."

"Poems and Translations," by Frederick Rowland Martin, includes in one volume three separate books of verse previously published by the author. These poems are remarkable for the wide range of their subject matter, and a certain limpidity of style in combination with a wide and discriminating culture. The translations and original aphorisms might rank in their ulti-

⁶ In the Heart of the Meadow. By Thomas O'Hagan. Briggs (Toronto). 47 pp. \$1.

⁷ Poems of Human Progress. By James Harcourt West. Tufts College Press. \$1.50.

mate simplicity with Tagore, so carefully has every defect been removed by their creator to leave only that music which is essential to the thought.¹

"Poems,"² by Walter Conrad Arensberg, has a unique quality—a flavor of delicious and ironic humor that is fresh and delightful. The sonnets are graceful, especially "The Nightingales" and "When I Am Old"; and the translations are fortunate in their word choices.

"A little Book of Verse," a collection of songs of bonnie Scotland; "Songs of Sixteen Summers," a first book of verse, by Jesse Greep, a sixteen-year-old boy of Robard, Kentucky; and "The Owl and the Bobolink," a book of light verse for young folks, are among recent publications.

Three of the best known addresses of Secretary of State Bryan, "The Prince of Peace,"³ "The Making of a Man,"⁴ and "The Royal Art,"⁵ have been published in small, attractive booklet form by Revell. Mr. Bryan's wholesome, easy optimism has now become the distinguishing mark of his career in its public as well as its private aspects.

The famous house of Cecil, which has governed England by its various representatives for nearly four centuries, so far as any particular individuals can be said to have governed Britain, has had very inadequate chronicling of its achievements. We are now able to read the story of this family, by G. Ravenscroft Dennis, an Englishman who writes *con amore*. The energies of this famous house, Mr. Dennis closes by telling us, are far from exhausted, and "with the fine traditions of public service to inspire them," in the future there may be Cecils who "will record achievements equal, if not eclipsing those of their great ancestors."⁶

In his book, "How to Make a Country Place," Mr. Sawyer writes in a simple, direct way out of long experience as an amateur in farming, build-

ing, and land development, and his book is one that will be of great practical use to men thinking of going from towns into the country, either to develop suburban homes, build summer bungalows, or work out the problem of making a living on a small farm.⁷

A valuable compendium of facts about foods, beverages, and toilet accessories has been published under the title "1001 Tests," by Harvey W. Wiley, M.D.⁸ Dr. Wiley's long service as head of the Bureau of Chemistry in the United States Department of Agriculture, and his nation-wide fight for pure-food legislation, has made his name a household word throughout the country. The present volume is a plain statement of facts about various articles of American manufacture which daily go into the homes of our citizens from Maine to California. It is information that has a direct bearing on the health and welfare of the community, and which could not possibly be obtained from any other source.

Two important works on the science of eugenics have recently appeared,—"The Progress of Eugenics,"⁹ by Caleb Williams Saleeby, who, since the death of Sir Francis Galton, has been generally recognized as the head of the eugenics movement in England, and a volume of twelve university lectures on eugenics, selected from a number given in various universities and colleges throughout the country in the scholastic year 1912-13.¹⁰ These lectures give the viewpoints of the zoölogist, the physician, the physiologist, and the economist, and fairly represent the present status of the movement in the United States.

Closely related to eugenics is the subject of feeble-mindedness. In this country the most important researches into the limitations, physical and mental, of this unfortunate class have been conducted at the Vineland, N. J., Training School. The director of the research laboratory at the school, Dr. H. H. Goddard, gives in a recently published volume the results of his investigations in 327 cases of feeble-mindedness. The facts here presented are most interesting and valuable from the standpoint of social science.¹¹

¹ Poems and Translations. By Frederick Rowland Martin. Sherman French. 250 pp. \$1.50.

² Poems. By Walter Conrad Arensberg. Houghton Mifflin. 121 pp. \$1.

³ The Prince of Peace. By William J. Bryan. Revell. 45 pp. 35 cents.

⁴ The Making of a Man. By William J. Bryan. Revell. 48 pp. 35 cents.

⁵ The Royal Art. By William J. Bryan. Revell. 40 pp. 35 cents.

⁶ The Cecil Family. By G. Ravenscroft Dennis. Houghton, Mifflin. 327 pp., ill. \$2.50.

⁷ How to Make a Country Place. By Joseph Dilloway Sawyer. New York: Orange Judd Company. \$3.

⁸ 1001 Tests of Foods, Beverages, and Toilet Accessories, Good and Otherwise. By Harvey W. Wiley. Hearst's International Library Company. 249 pp. \$1.25.

⁹ The Progress of Eugenics. By Caleb Williams Saleeby. Funk & Wagnalls. 259 pp. \$1.50.

¹⁰ Eugenics: Twelve University Lectures. With a foreword by Llewellyn F. Barker. Dodd, Mead. 342 pp. \$2.

¹¹ Feeble-Mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences. By Henry Herbert Goddard. Macmillan. 599 pp., ill. \$4.



FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—DIVIDENDS OF LEADING AMERICAN COMPANIES AS AFFECTED BY THE WAR

CONSIDERING how three months of European war have dislocated the civilized world, American investment securities have shown what is perhaps a remarkable integrity. Possibly the closing of all markets alone prevented slaughtering of prices, and it seems probable that even with a cautious and gradual resumption of financial activities there must be established lower prices for both stocks and bonds. But practically none of the stronger corporations have stopped paying interest on their bonds, and great numbers of strong companies have declared the usual dividends on their stocks.

The present disturbance, like all troubles, has at least the value of making clear certain fundamental truth. Like the decline in New Haven, war has brought out in sharp relief the essential difference between stocks and bonds. Only a few companies have defaulted interest upon their bonds, but scores of important concerns have deferred, reduced, or suspended dividends on stock issues, merely in order to conserve their resources. In many cases dividends have been earned, but directors have seen the wisdom of economy. The bondholder cannot be deprived of his income in this way without at least some legal redress. But the stockholder is helpless. Indeed, such action is usually for his best interest in the long run, and in many cases it is wiser for a concern to borrow from its stockholders, which is what the process amounts to, than at more exorbitant rates elsewhere.

Up to the middle of October only two important corporations had defaulted on their bond interest, the International Mercantile Marine Company, which owns the White Star Line and other transatlantic steamship companies, and the Atlantic Gas & Electric Company, a new public-utility holding company. The first-named concern has long been in a weak financial condition, a condition which was not benefited by the *Titanic* disaster or the present war.

Dividends on Stocks

But if we turn to dividends on stocks, both common and preferred, it will be found that

of companies important enough to be mentioned in the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* and the *Wall Street Journal* about eighty-five have suspended dividends or deferred their payment. One company has paid preferred dividends in scrip (practically stock), three have paid common dividends in scrip, one has rescinded a dividend, three have omitted extras, five have suspended preferred dividends, eleven have deferred or postponed preferred dividends, five have deferred common-stock dividends, fifteen have reduced common-stock dividends, and thirty-four have omitted common-stock dividends. Of the sixty-five, six are steam railroads, although only three are important,—the Southern, Chesapeake & Ohio, and Hocking Valley railways.

"Industrials"

About fifty-five miscellaneous manufacturing, mining, and trading companies, commonly known as "industrials," have taken similar action, and about twenty public-utility (gas, water, and electric) concerns. Among the industrials, ten of the Standard Oil companies have suspended or reduced dividends or failed to declare an extra disbursement. One independent company, the Pure Oil, declared no dividend, and another, the Union Oil, rescinded action declaring one. The oil business has always been highly speculative, as well as exceedingly profitable,—a fact merely proven again by recent developments and frequently emphasized in these articles, but apparently forgotten by people who were dazzled by the great rise in Standard Oil stocks after the dissolution of the old company.

Of the fifty-five industrial dividends affected, at least eighteen are accounted for by important copper producers, as half the demand for copper comes from abroad. The Calumet & Hecla, Ray Consolidated, Nevada Consolidated, Calumet & Arizona, Granby, Greene-Cananea, North Butte, Superior & Pittsburgh, Greene Consolidated, Miami, Shattuck & Arizona, and United States Smelting, Refining & Mining companies sus-

pended dividends altogether, while the Chino, United Globe, New York & Honduras Rosario, Old Dominion, and Anaconda companies have reduced theirs and the rich Phelps, Dodge & Co. has failed to pay an expected extra. Three well-known steel manufacturers, the Republic Iron & Steel, Crucible Steel, and Pittsburgh Steel companies, have deferred paying dividends on their preferred stocks. Three manufacturers of agricultural implements,—the International Harvester Corporation, Emerson-Brantingham, and the Hart-Parr companies,—have been obliged to retrench, two failing to pay dividends on their preferred shares, and the foreign branch of the powerful International Harvester combine suspending common-stock dividends. Other widely diversified industries which have paid dividends in paper instead of cash, suspended, deferred or have reduced dividends wholly or in part because of war conditions, have been the United Drug Company, Lanston Monotype Company, Brown Shoe Company, American Malt Company, Singer Manufacturing Company, Childs Company (restaurants), and the American Tobacco Company.

Public-Utility Companies

Up to this writing, eleven fairly large public-utility holding companies have suspended, deferred, or reduced dividends. Only one company of this type has failed to pay interest on its bonds. In five cases preferred dividends have been affected. Most of these concerns are new, having been formed in the last few years, and they have been engaged in extensive financing of extensions and improvements,—a difficult process to carry on in troubled times.

Causes of Dividend Losses

The last few months have shown not only that bonds are better for most investors than stocks, but they have equally proven the necessity of sticking to well-established industries when conservative investments are sought. Many of the dividend losses have been traceable to one or more of these causes:

- (1) Business essentially speculative, as with the oil companies.
- (2) Large proportion of business dependent upon foreign trade, as with the copper producers, the International Harvester Corporation, International Mercantile Marine Company, and the Singer Manufacturing (Sewing Machine) Company.
- (3) Too new to have an established financial standing or simply weak financially, or overcapitalized.

War's Effect on Public-Utility Securities

The effect of the war upon public-utility securities is most interesting, because so many of these enterprises are new. Probably no industry will be less affected as regards its earnings. Public-utility earnings increased steadily during the hard times that followed 1907. First-mortgage bonds, especially, of operating companies will continue to be one of the safest and most attractive channels for the funds of the small investor. But the sheep and the goats must needs be separated, and recent events have helped to do it. A corporation must have a sound and stable financial structure, as well as stability of earnings, to make its securities safe. In not a few cases stocks and bonds of holding companies have been sold to investors when the operating companies underlying the holding corporation were already quite heavily mortgaged.

The lessons of hard times apply to all classes of business. It is then that the value of an established reputation and time for careful development count most. When times are normal there always appear to be good reasons for buying stocks and bonds which promise high returns, even if they are not "close to the property." But when trouble comes it is the bond which is directly secured upon an operating company, with no obligations ahead of it, or only small ones, and secured by really ample earnings, not only for the last year, but for a number of years past, that weathers the storm. Such a bond comes through safely whether the company is a small local one, whose securities would never be listed on the stock exchanges, or one of the great giants whose securities flow from market to market and from country to country.

General Effects on American Finance and Trade

Naturally, no one can predict how long the war will continue, or what the results to the world of a very long war will be. But admitting this element of uncertainty, four significant sets of facts which were not, or from the nature of the case could not, be dwelt upon a few months ago are now emerging:

- (1) All the serious special problems of American finance and trade created by the war are slowly but surely being solved by coöperation of leading business men and the Government. These include the cotton situation, banking necessities, securities markets, and foreign exchange.

(2) Several important industries are feeling a stimulus from special European orders. Originally based on requirements for munitions of war, the demand is extending in other directions.

(3) It is slowly being realized that the danger of Europe dumping all its holdings

of American securities upon our markets was exaggerated.

(4) Economy and thrift on the part of both individuals and corporations will result in the accumulation of new funds of capital. Money is sure to accumulate and offset to considerable extent the war losses.

II.—INVESTMENT INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 589. SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT POPULAR STEEL COMMON

Will you do me a favor by giving me some information about United States Steel common stock? What do you think of this stock as an investment? What do you think of this stock as a speculation? What, in your opinion, is the probability that the company will continue to pay 5 per cent. on this stock? What, in your opinion, is the probability that this stock will rise in value? I have a client who is thinking of putting some money into it, and this prompts me to write you, as I have no means of finding out anything definite about the matter. I have an acquaintance who has been holding some of the stock for a number of years, and he informs me that he has been getting 5 per cent. annually on it. It would be satisfactory at the present price, if it would continue to pay that rate.

In our opinion, this stock does not now occupy, and indeed never has occupied, an investment position, strictly speaking. It has always been extremely susceptible, not only to the widely fluctuating earnings of the corporation, but also to all of the various extraneous speculative influences of the stock market as a whole, and on this account it has proved in many respects a more or less dangerous security for people of relatively small means and limited experience. The stock has been on a regular 5 per cent. dividend basis only since 1910. Previous to that time its dividend record was as follows: 1 per cent. quarterly from September, 1901, to September, 1903, inclusive; $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent. in December, 1903; no dividends whatever in 1904 and 1905; 1 per cent. in October, 1906, this being $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent. each, for the quarters ended March 31 and June 30 of that year; 2 per cent. per annum, December, 1906, to June, 1909; $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1 per cent. September, 1909; 1 per cent. December, 1909; and 1 per cent. regular, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1 per cent. extra in March, 1910.

In considering the stock at the present time, even as a speculation, it is essential to bear in mind that the Corporation, throughout the fiscal year now drawing to a close, has failed to earn the 5 per cent. dividend by a considerable margin. As a matter of fact, it has covered the 7 per cent. cumulative preferred dividend by a margin that is not especially reassuring. During this period of unsatisfactory earnings, common dividends have been met, of course, out of accumulated surplus. How long it would be considered good policy to continue the distribution of surplus for that purpose in the event of a continuance of insufficient profits cannot be stated definitely. Such a policy of dividend payment, however, has well defined limitations, and there are a good many careful observers of conditions who would tell you frankly that it would not surprise them to see the Steel common dividend go to a lower basis.

It would be futile to undertake to prophesy in

regard to the future market price of this stock. As we have already pointed out, it is a stock which is extremely susceptible to all of the cross currents in the speculative market, and these, as you doubtless know, are very numerous and confusing in the situation that has arisen here as a result of the war. In short, we feel that if your client were to put money into Steel common, he ought to do so, realizing fully that he was speculating rather than adhering to the principles of sound investment.

No. 590. MUNICIPAL DISTRICT IMPROVEMENT BONDS

I would thank you if you would let me know what you think of municipal district improvement bonds, which net the investor sometimes as high as 7 per cent. They look to me rather too attractive to be safe. Is there a flaw anywhere?

Such bonds, as a class, especially those issued in cities of the Pacific Coast, where they are perhaps the most common, have an investment record that is far from being an unsatisfactory one. They sell on a relatively high interest basis, partly because of their lack of convertibility, or want of a free market, and partly because of the fact that money for such purposes as those for which they are issued naturally commands a higher rate in those sections of the country where municipal development is still being carried out on a large scale.

The essential fact to consider in connection with this type of bonds is that they are not direct municipal obligations, supported by the general taxing power of the issuing communities, but are securities which depend altogether for the safety of their principal and interest upon the tax-paying ability only of such property as is situated within the limited districts for whose improvement the bonds are issued. On such property, however, improvement bonds are a lien coming ahead of everything except general taxes, so that where they are issued in accordance with conservative practise, they make very good income investments. Usually they are issued in serial form,—that is, under an arrangement which provides for the payment of the debt which they represent in annual or semi-annual installments. And in practically all cases the money for the payment of principal and interest goes through the offices of the treasurers of the municipalities, just as the revenues arising from the collection of general taxes. We have heard of an occasional instance, here and there, in which there has been some delay in the payment of interest and maturing principal installment on improvement bonds, but as far as we know there are relatively few cases on record of actual default.